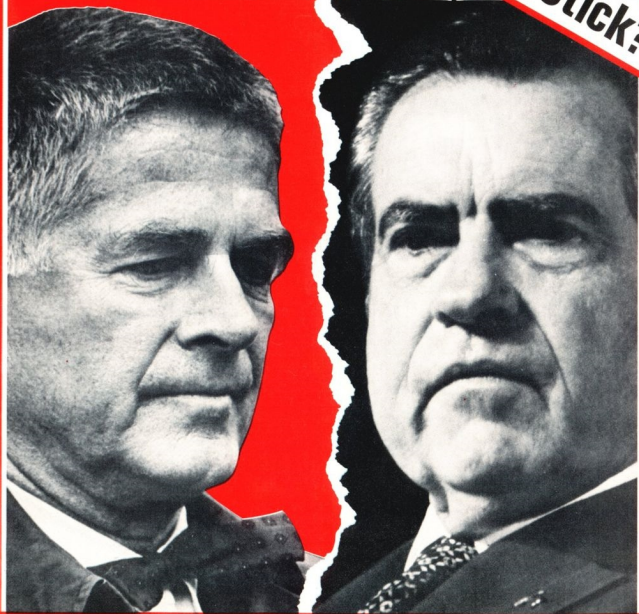


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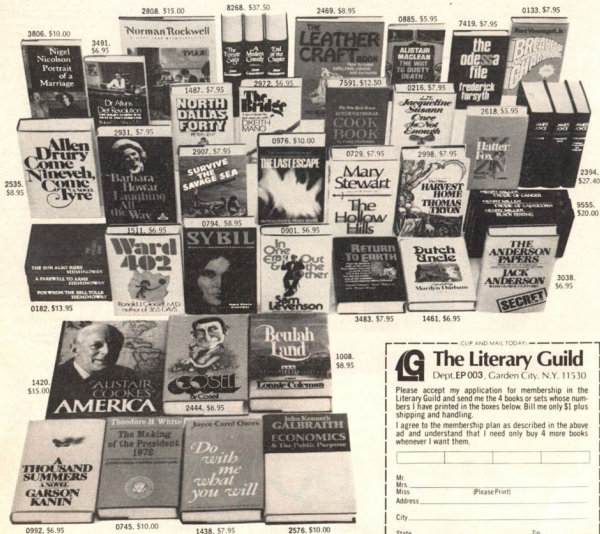
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## A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

From the moment the sirens first signaled the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli war, TIME correspondents have been ranging far across the Middle East, covering military action and political maneuvering in the warring nations both for our regular stories and for this week's special section. Correspondent William Wynn reached Cairo from Jerusalem to the Sinai Peninsula and sent eyewitness reports of the fighting from an Israeli position less than five miles from the Suez Canal. He returned to Jerusalem at night, "riding in darkness for hours because of the danger of air attacks." As a result of the blackout, there were such terrible accidents along the way, he says, "that I wondered if Egyptian air strikes would have been any more destructive."

On the other side of the lines, Rome Correspondent Wilton Wynn reached Cairo after an 800-mile, cross-desert taxi ride from Benghazi and was one of 14 newsmen allowed to move up to the Sinai front. "After traveling about 25 miles northward along the front," he reports, "our convoy came to a halt when an artillery shell exploded 300 yds. away. Then an Israeli Skyhawk streaked past. Later newsmen saw smoke rising from what they thought was a bomb hit. But the unit commander said it was the plane, which had been shot down." Diplomatic Editor Jerrold Schecter, usually based in Washington, arrived in Benghazi two days after Wynn, followed the same trail across the desert and later joined Wynn in Cairo, where both have been covering President Sadat's activities and the Egyptian situation.

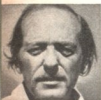
Beirut-based Karsten Prager, whose beat normally includes much of the Arab world, moved to the Syrian side of the war to report from Damascus, while Rome Bureau Chief Jordan Bonfante took up temporary station in Beirut.

Jerusalem Correspondent Marlin Levin crossed the Golan Heights into Syria to report on the fighting along the El Quneitra-Damascus road and narrowly missed stepping on an anti-personnel bomb. Marsh Clark temporarily left his post as New York bureau chief and returned to Jerusalem, where he headed our bureau from 1970 to 1972, to cover developments in the Israeli capital. Rounding out TIME's coverage in the Middle East is London Correspondent William McWhirter, who has been reporting from Jordan since the day King Hussein ordered his troops to mobilize.

Ralph P. Davidson



SCHECTER



CLARK



MARMON



PRAGER



WYNN



LEVIN



McWHIRTER



BONFANTE

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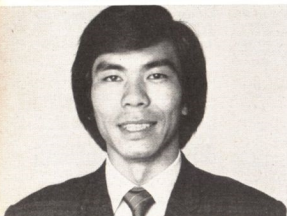
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## LETTERS

### Israel Stands Alone

Sir / As the events in Austria and those of Saturday, Oct. 6, clearly show, for the Jew there are no allies.

We stand alone.  
SARA PTASCHNIK  
New York City

Sir / There can be no surrender or compromise with Arab oil. We cannot, dare not, become an Arab lackey licking the oil off their feet.

The security of a strong Israel is vital to our own security and way of life. We must have the clear vision and courage to understand this fact and pursue it.

HERMAN SINNET  
New York City

Sir / How easy it is to submit to blackmail when you give away the rights of other people! I nominate Bruno Kreisky for Poltrone of the Year.

CHARLES BRUNSON  
San Antonio

Sir / It took just two Arabs to make Austria surrender.

Let us all cheer the valor and glory of this courageous little country!

JOSEPH R. ABRAHAMSON, M.D.  
La Jolla, Calif.

### Outdoor Pruitt-Igoes

Sir / In your special section, "The Land Boom" [Oct. 1], you show the usual suffocating arrogance of land planning's tyrannical advocates who decide what is good for the rest of us.

Cluster housing should not be the rule. It makes a rural slum, bringing the evils of noise and crowding. Man needs space, privacy, a territory. All that open space is no one's land, and so it goes to hell and is wasted. Meantime, back at the cluster, no one has anything worth a dime—no place for pets or horses or a garden, no fence, nothing but a fancy, outdoor Pruitt-Igoe.

The only reason to buy land is to keep your neighbor and his noise and nose at a distance, and to keep you off his back in turn. Better ten people with an acre each than ten people sharing ten acres. I would not give you cave-dwelling slaves in New York 5c for the best cluster house ever built. It is a developmental inferno.

RITA ATKINS  
Professor  
Shimer College  
Mount Carroll, Ill.

Sir / One begins to appreciate that Henry George was quite right—a hundred years ago—in advocating a 100% tax on profits on land transactions.

EUGENE V. KOSSO  
Reno

Sir / In justifiably lambasting unscrupulous developers, you failed to point out that many organizations are approaching the problems with genuine attention to environmental and ecological factors.

You completely negate any good intentions for those who seek to preserve local control of growth. It is totally unrealistic to expect the same limitations that must be placed on areas of large populations to be applicable to smaller communities. Contrary to your insinuations, those of us who are active in local planning are not all bigots or insensitive profiteers. In fact, it is often the socially aware developer who

spearheads local planning efforts in a sincere desire to see that our natural resources are protected.

ROBERT T. COLGAN  
Executive Vice President  
Colorado Land & Cattle Company  
Durango, Colo.

Sir / I did something of a double take on reading that "land, as a physical quantity, seems almost changeless, altering shape only after aeons."

Not quite! To those of us in South Dakota and other Dust Bowl states in the 1930s, the land changed in one helluva hurry, departing in big clouds of dust that stripped off the thin layer that produced our living. When land left, the people went too, and it didn't take aeons to happen either.

CAROLYN JOHNSON  
Washington, D.C.

Sir / I must add to your mention of black flies on Moosehead Lake in Maine.

The average black fly measures 5 ft. long and 3 ft. wide. It has a wingspan of 7 ft. They usually travel in swarms of 800 or more, summer and winter, day and night, throughout the state. Needless to say, they are extremely vicious—and poisonous.

THINK OREGON.  
PATRICK C. DOWLING  
Editor  
Maine Catalog  
Portland, Me.

### Bored with Watergate?

Sir / Your article "Who's Bored with Watergate?" [Oct. 8] accurately expresses my feelings. After hearing such a recital of dirty tricks, I certainly sense a powerful pressure being exerted on the press and TV to make Watergate "out of fashion." If the people of our country are really bored by Watergate, I feel they deserve Watergate and will get more of the same in the future.

(MRS.) DOROTHY B. KENNEDY  
Portola Valley, Calif.

Sir / To those who say they are tired of Watergate, I would ask "Are you also tired of your freedom?"

MAX FLEISHMAN  
Glendale, Calif.

Sir / Despite TIME, I shall reserve my right to be bored by anything at any time I damn well please.

G.T. JOHNSON  
Birmingham, Mich.

### The Buzzards and the Tiger

Sir / The Watergate hearings have reminded me of a flock of buzzards attacking a sick and wounded deer. But that same flock faced a strong and healthy tiger in Pat Buchanan [Oct. 8].

W.D. GARRISON  
Muskegon, Mich.

Sir / Pat Buchanan's defense of dirty tricks indicates contemptuous arrogance. Decency cannot be diluted by distorting ethics.

RUTH N. ROOCK  
Dayton

### In Defense of Football

Sir / Stefan Kanfer covers a great deal of ground in his Essay on TV football [Oct. 8], but, as far as I am concerned, he has

missed the basic reason for the appeal of this phenomenon: the appreciation of skill, which is the greatest passive joy of intellectual existence.

It is a skill in itself, and when developed to the point where one can differentiate the great from the mediocre, it gives great pleasure.

SHERMAN W. ATWELL  
Brookline, Mass.

Sir / Your Essay on sport overlooks what is probably the primary factor in sport's appeal to the spectator: sport celebrates man's accomplishments.

When we read a newspaper, most of what we see is concerned with man's failures. That is not so in the comics or in the sports pages.

EARL T. JOHNSON  
Grants Pass, Ore.

Sir / So what's wrong with a sport that is essentially warring? All competition is a war to win—whether among nations or among teams or between individuals.

Far better to work off aggression (which is intrinsic in man, whether we like it or not) on the gridiron or in the bull ring or on the race track or at the chess table than on a battlefield.

JEANNE MINGE  
New Orleans

### Is Architecture Sculpture?

Sir / In his story on Sydney's Opera House [Oct. 8], Robert Hughes is confused when he deprecates street architecture as "façade" architecture, and celebrates the free-standing site for architecture as "sculpture." Architecture is not sculpture. People do not live and die in sculpture. This sort of craven search for show-off building sites and crudely gestural architecture-as-sculpture is one of the major failures of modernist ar-

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# If you think...



**Psoriasis is a  
terrible itch that  
makes you  
rub your eyes...**

**Emphysema  
is the wife of  
Ali Baba...**

**The left ventricle  
stands to the  
left of the middle  
linebacker...**

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## LETTERS

chitecture, particularly of the so-called Expressionists, of which Jørn Utzon is a very late bloomer.

DONALD HOFFMANN  
Kansas City, Mo.

Sir / In our mundane, functional age, Utzon has provided Australia and the world with a symbol of grandeur and a shrine of fantasy. The Sydney Opera is both myth and monument.

WALLACE VAN ZYL  
Muncie, Ind.

### Battles of Flesh and Spirit

Sir / "Paul Tillich, Lover" [Oct. 8] served to rattle and shake my personal theology. Certainly the Lord advocated that his followers "love one another," but, according to Tillich's wife Hannah, Paul didn't call a halt to his burning passion for the fair sex.

But, after all, it was Mr. Tillich who staunchly wrote: "Protestantism is a continuous history of the breaking of images." He may have shattered my theological images, but my faith remains intact in those wonderful saints who, in spite of the battles of flesh and spirit, led lives that offered the word of hope and good cheer.

RON BLEWETT  
Chardon, Ohio

### The Gullibles

Sir / So Sidney Hook and the University Centers for Rational Alternatives want to set up a required program of undergraduate studies to save liberal education and to help establish "a permanent defense against gullibility" [Oct. 8].

One of the larger examples of gullibility

in our society is putting up good money to pay teachers to require students to take courses to get a degree to get a job that doesn't require a college education.

RICHARD D. ERLICH  
Oxford, Ohio

Sir / Admittedly, American education is in trouble. But to say this is due to a lack of liberal arts education is absurd. Our society desperately needs specialists.

It has been my experience that the most gullible and naive people are liberal arts majors who know little and yet have the incredible gall to call themselves educated. Let me assure you that to say that our educational system needs a more extensive system of liberal arts is analogous to saying that a sinking ship needs more water.

ED GRIFFITH  
Durango, Colo.

### Humane Death

Sir / I am fascinated by Governor Reagan's suggestion [Oct. 8] that we search for more humane methods of capital punishment, i.e., "the simple shot or tranquilizer."

Governor Reagan's statement is really a challenge to our technology to find methods of putting condemned persons away so that we, the living, do not vicariously feel their pain. To take the life of a human who is unwilling to give it is inhumane.

STEPHEN B. CAPLIN  
Indianapolis

### Over the Wall

Sir / I was one of those fortunate enough to gain my freedom from the "socialist paradise" beyond the wall. In 1969 I left be-

hind a life full of fear, oppression and shades of gray, convinced that freedom was worth any price. Your article on East Germany [Oct. 1] served to strengthen my deep gratitude and appreciation for freedom.

HILFRIED FLACK  
Wiesbaden, West Germany

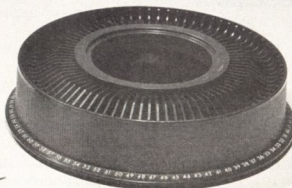
Sir / I am one of the lucky 2,700,000 from Leipzig who got out before the wall was built. But still I am very proud of these humble, hard-working people who are making the best of the colorless, dreary life in which they are condemned to live. If I were still living in East Germany today, I probably would be trying, with typical German efficiency and persistence, to make the system work, even if I hated it.

MARIA TURK  
East Detroit, Mich.

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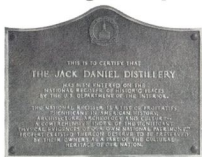


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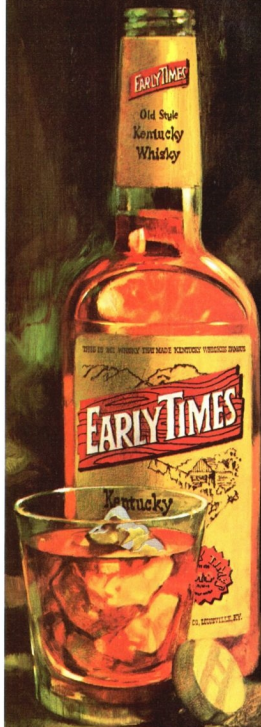


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reasonable of bridge guests.  
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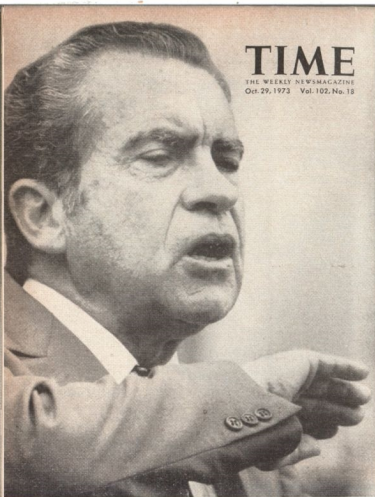
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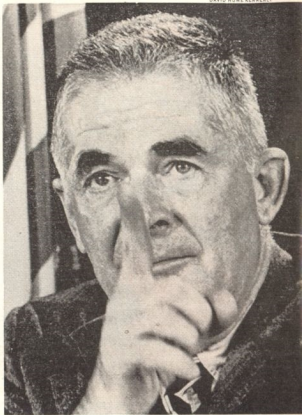
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# TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE  
Oct. 29, 1973 Vol. 102, No. 18



PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON STRIKES A DEFIANT POSE



FORMER WATERGATE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR ARCHIBALD COX

## THE PRESIDENCY / COVER STORY

# Richard Nixon Stumbles to the Brink

*"Whether ours shall continue to be a government of laws and not of men is for Congress and ultimately the American people to decide."*

Archibald Cox (on being fired)

With astonishing speed in a frantic Washington weekend, an effort by President Nixon to compromise in the battle for his tapes and to preserve the authority of his office crashed toward a fateful climax, leaving his survival in the Oval Office in grave doubt and pitching the nation into one of the gravest constitutional crises in its history. There were these stunning developments in rapid sequence:

► Nixon revealed that he would refuse to comply with an appeals-court order directing him to yield his controversial tapes and documents to Federal Judge John J. Sirica for *in camera* inspection. Nor would he carry his case to the Supreme Court. Instead, he proposed to make available summaries of relevant portions of the tapes. These

would first be authenticated by Senator John C. Stennis, whom he would let hear the tapes in their entirety.

► Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox held a televised news conference to object to this Nixon "compromise" on the tapes and to declare that he would ask the courts either to cite Nixon for contempt or to clarify why the President's out-of-court offer was unacceptable.

► Nixon ordered Attorney General Elliot Richardson, who under heavy Senate pressure had appointed Cox and given him a free hand to investigate all Watergate-related crimes, to fire Cox. Richardson refused and resigned on principle.

► Nixon ordered Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus to dismiss Cox. Ruckelshaus also in conscience declined. So Nixon fired him.

► Nixon then appointed Solicitor General Robert Bork acting Attorney General and directed him to fire Cox and abolish Cox's entire operation, including his staff of more than 60 attor-

neys, who have been investigating the pervasive scandal for five months. Bork obeyed, and within hours the nation witnessed the spectacle of FBI agents sealing off the offices and papers of the two top Justice Department men as well as those of Cox and his aides.

In these historic events, the President was acting in direct defiance of a court order. By abolishing the independent arm of the Justice Department that was created at the insistence of the Senate, Nixon was challenging the Congress that holds the power to impeach and try him for violating his oath of office.

In just a few dizzying hours, a plan that Nixon had presented as a means of preventing a constitutional crisis had actually speeded a dual confrontation between the Executive and both other branches of Government. The question was how the public and Congress would perceive the President's actions and how much pressure would arise for the House of Representatives to begin impeachment proceedings against him.





FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL ELLIOT RICHARDSON



FORMER DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM RUCKELSHAUS

The first shocked reactions of Congressmen and Senators indicated that the pressure would be considerable and perhaps irresistible. Republicans were among Nixon's severest critics. Senator Mark Hatfield observed that a move to impeach could come "like a flash flood sweeping down over the pasture land." Senator Robert Packwood argued that there was "no justification" for Nixon's action. "The office of the President does not carry with it a license to destroy justice in America. His deeds are dishonorable." Predicted Freshman Congressman William H. Hudnut of Indiana: "If Nixon gives the impression he is above the law, he is going to have an impeachment problem on his hands of considerable magnitude."

Democrats, too, talked ominously of impeachment. Senator Edmund Muskie urged the House to begin the painful proceedings. Senator Edward Kennedy decried the firing of Cox as "a reckless act of desperation by a President who is afraid of the Supreme Court, who has no respect for law and no regard for men of conscience. The burden is now on Congress to nullify this historic insult to the rule of law and to the nation's system of justice." Argued West Virginia Congressman Ken Hechler: "Impeach-

ment proceedings must be initiated at the earliest possible moment." California Congressman Don Edwards urged Nixon to admit that he had made "a terrible mistake" and resign.

Nixon could hardly have anticipated that his bid to resolve the Watergate tapes controversy short of the Supreme Court would take such a dangerous turn. After being petitioned by Prosecutor Cox, Judge Sirica had ordered that the tapes of White House conversations and Watergate-related papers be given to him so that he could decide what portions should be relayed to the grand jury directed by Cox. Sirica's ruling had been sustained on Oct. 12 in a sharply worded 5-to-2 decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

A "Summary." Given five days by the appellate court to file his notice of appeal to the Supreme Court, Nixon faced a deadline of midnight on Friday; he had to act before then or the lower court's order would go into effect. Instead of filing, Nixon cited the crisis in the Middle East and appealed to an overriding national interest in first announcing that he would personally prepare a "summary" of information on the tapes that he considered relevant to the multiple Watergate investigations.

This summary, Nixon declared, would be given to both the Senate Watergate committee and Judge Sirica. It would not, however, be a verbatim transcript. Nor would any portion of the tapes or any papers be given to Sirica.

The sole check on whether the Nixon summary was complete and fair would be Nixon's personally selected auditor of the tapes: Mississippi Senator John Stennis, 72, a conservative Democrat who only recently recovered from critical bullet wounds sustained in a street robbery. Stennis would be given "unlimited access" to the tapes to verify Nixon's account of them, according to this plan. The selection of Stennis was perhaps the only unflawed element in Nixon's design. To his colleagues, it was inconceivable that he would have anything to do with a scheme to mislead the Senate. It might be argued that Nixon's offer to let Stennis judge the tapes was the most powerful evidence yet that they may indeed exonerate Nixon, as he has claimed all along. Yet Stennis had publicly praised Nixon earlier for standing fast against his critics on Watergate, and had suggested that he had the ability "to tough it out."

Nixon seemed to have one advantage in the tumultuous tapes controversy-

## THE NATION

sy. Surprisingly, he had been able, only hours before the appeals-court order became effective, to persuade two of the Senate's most prestigious Watergate investigators, Senate Select Committee Chairman Sam Ervin and the committee's Republican vice chairman, Howard Baker, to go along with his scheme. But both men insisted that their concurrence was narrowly based on the committee's interest in getting any evidence at all of what the tapes contain and was meant to be totally unrelated to the court struggle.

Ervin, moreover, protested that he had been misled into believing that the committee would get full transcripts of the tapes, not edited summaries. The White House placated him by assuring him that he would get verbatim transcripts, though that was not what Nixon announced. It was all very confusing, and just how the full membership of the seven-man committee would regard the plan in view of the upheaval on the criminal side of the Watergate investigation was not yet clear.

Even Stennis, who had agreed to undertake what he described as merely "a mechanical job" of verifying Nixon's version of what is on the tapes, indi-



STENNIS LISTENS TO A QUESTION  
Technical help needed?

cated some reservations. He insisted that he had never been told that Cox was so adamantly opposed to the scheme or that it would have any devastating effects on the criminal prosecution. Stennis had in fact agreed to audit the tapes only after Ervin and Baker had agreed to the plan. There were strong signs that Nixon had craftily attempted to use the three Senators in order to achieve his

priority goal: to frustrate judicial attempts to pry loose those tapes.

Yet, ironically, it was Nixon's attempted abuse of Attorney General Richardson that may have wounded the President most seriously. By his strong proclamation that justice must not be subverted in handling Agnew's graft and contract kickbacks, Richardson had only the week before enhanced his already considerable reputation for rectitude and propriety. The Agnew stand undoubtedly was taken at Nixon's behest. Now, by resigning rather than bowing to Nixon's bludgeon tactics against Cox, Richardson may have dealt the President a mortal political blow.

Cox's somewhat fey professional manner conceals a backbone of steel. Summoning newsmen the morning after Nixon's statement on the tapes, he declared: "I'm certainly not out to get the President. I hate a fight." Contending that the legal argument must not degenerate into a clash of personalities, Cox insisted that Nixon's refusal to provide any of the tapes or documents was just another in a series of "repeated frustrations" in his attempts to get vital information from the White House.

The strongest Cox argument against

## The Three Men of High Principle

*Short profiles of the three men who stood on principle, defied the President and lost their jobs:*

**ARCHIBALD COX.** A registered Democrat, Cox, 61, has worked for five Administrations—as a lawyer in the Departments of Justice and Labor (1943), head of the Wage Stabilization Board (1952), Solicitor General (1961-65) and special Watergate prosecutor. His reputation as a brilliant, almost arrogantly self-confident legal scholar was acquired during his 22 years on the faculty of Harvard Law School, where he took his law degree in 1937. In 1968 he headed a panel that investigated the causes of student riots at Columbia University. A year later he advised school officials during similar disturbances at Harvard.

An expert in labor law, he has pursued a career, both in and out of academe, that has been distinguished by an inflexible dedication to principle. Once, as U.S. Solicitor General, he refused to argue before the Supreme Court a case involving the right of Government officials to search automobiles brought to police headquarters because he believed there was no justification for the Government's position (the Government lost the case). Accepting the post of special Watergate prosecutor just after ending a speech at Berkeley on the importance of faith in Government, he pledged to do all he could to help "restore a sense of integrity and honor throughout our Government."

**ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON.** A lifelong Republican, Richardson, 53, was born into a Boston Brahmin family and educated at Harvard (LL.B., '47), where he was a student of Cox's. As U.S. Attorney for Massachusetts, he prosecuted Boston Industrialist Bernard Goldfine, who provided Sherman Adams' famous vicuña coat. After serving as Lieutenant Governor and attorney general, he joined the Nixon Administration in 1969 and became its most versatile handyman. In five years, he served successively as Under Secretary of State; Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Secretary of Defense and, finally, Attorney General. He had been working hard to restore the morale and image of the Justice Department, both badly mauled by the Watergate scandals.

Although Richardson was regarded as an Administration loyalist, his chief allegiance throughout his career has been to law. "Law is the indispensable attribute of an ordered society," he once observed. As Attorney General, he said his goal was a "clearing of the air to ensure that there is fairness, one system of justice for the rich and the poor, the white and the black."

**WILLIAM D. RUCKELSHAUS.** A third-generation Republican politician, Ruckelshaus, 41, also took his law degree at Harvard (1960) and served for five years in the Indiana attorney general's office. Elected to the state house of representatives, he was soon chosen majority leader. In 1969 he joined the Justice De-

partment as Assistant Attorney General in charge of the civil division, and became the Administration's unofficial emissary to radical young people. He negotiated with student leaders on logistics for the massive 1970 antiwar demonstration in Washington, quietly calmed a potentially explosive confrontation over a trial of Black Panthers in New Haven in 1971, and frequently spoke on college campuses to improve the Administration's image.

President Nixon named him the first administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency in December 1970, and Ruckelshaus won a wide reputation as tough, fair and unusually independent of the White House. For three years he walked the narrow line—without a serious misstep—between suspicious environmentalists and hostile businessmen. He compromised in his most publicized struggle, giving automobile manufacturers a one-year extension of a 1975 deadline for the installation of antipollution devices on cars while slipping on tough interim standards. Nonetheless, his tenacious fight and his insistence that presidential aides stay out of it enhanced his prestige. Last April Nixon named him acting director of the FBI, whose morale had been shattered by L. Patrick Gray's controversial tenure as acting director. Finally, Ruckelshaus was persuaded to become Richardson's top assistant last month. When asked about the Watergate scandal last spring, he told an interviewer: "There are a lot of people who understand private morality who have no understanding at all of public morality."



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## THE NATION

Nixon's proposal was that no trial court would be satisfied with a summary of evidence when the complete tapes and documents existed. Failure by the prosecution to produce them would allow defense attorneys to seek dismissals on the ground that evidence was being withheld by the Government.

Such an impasse could lead to a complete perversion of justice in the varied Watergate crimes. The Watergate figures who have cooperated with prosecutors, admitted some of their own illegal acts and already entered guilty pleas, could wind up as the only principals to face punishment. Thus John Dean, Jeb Stuart Magruder and Fred LaRue, for example, might be jailed, while such adamant professors of innocence as John Ehrlichman, Bob Halde- man and John Mitchell might go free. While this outcome might not displease the White House, it would hardly re- assure the public.

Nixon certainly did not see the situation that way as he presented his case for evading the court's directives. Citing "this critical hour" in world affairs, Nixon argued that "there are those in the international community who may be tempted by our Watergate-related difficulties at home to misread America's unity and resolve in meeting the challenges we confront abroad." The Middle East crisis, he contended, made it imperative that the lingering tapes controversy be settled promptly.

Thus, said Nixon, he had decided to take "decisive action that will avoid any possibility of a constitutional crisis." To carry an appeal to the Supreme Court would eventually bring a decision favorable to his claims of Executive privilege, he concluded, contrary to the estimates of most constitutional scholars. Yet that would take too long. So he was acting now "with the spirit" of the appeals-

court decision by offering a "compromise." It was only "with the greatest reluctance" that he was permitting "a breach in the confidentiality that is so necessary to the conduct of the presidency" and allowing Senator Stennis to monitor the tapes.

Nixon then anticipated a most appropriate question: "Why, if I am willing to let Senator Stennis hear the tapes for this purpose, am I not willing merely to submit them to court for inspection in private?" Nixon's unpersuasive answer: "To allow the tapes to be heard by one judge would create a precedent that would be available to 400 district judges."

That reasoning ignored the fact that Stennis, as one of 535 Senators and Representatives, is a member of a branch of Government that is often even more eager than the Judiciary to contest the President's prerogatives. Moreover, as the appeals-court decision noted, Nixon had already breached his privilege by allowing his former aides to testify as to the content of the disputed Watergate conversations. Indeed, Nixon has publicly given his own version of some of these talks.

The Nixon tactic raised other troubling questions. If he was indeed so dedicated to principle, why not carry the matter to the highest court and get the favorable ruling that he said he so confidently expected? Or did he really expect the decision to go against him? The argument that international pressures arising in the Middle East would not permit such a delay seemed superficial. Nixon was not at all likely to be more seriously wounded by Watergate pending such a decision than he already had been—and the war crisis might well have abated by the time the tapes issue was resolved. In fact, at a time when the fighting abroad was still indecisive, Nixon had precipitated the very weakened condition that he so decried.

**Broken Agreement.** The President's legal evasions dismayed even some of his previous defenders in the law profession. Yale Law School's Charles Black Jr. had stoutly supported Nixon's position that the courts had no right to his confidential conversations or papers. Now Black declared: "I don't see how you can defend the President who first fights in the court, then cuts himself off from the courts and also breaks his agreement with Cox."

In guidelines written by Richardson last May and approved by Nixon, Cox had been given "the greatest degree of independence," and full power "whether or not to contest the assertion of Executive privilege" as well as to review "all documentary evidence available from any source, as to which he shall have full access." It had also been agreed that he could be fired only for "extraordinary improprieties."

Despite the dismissal of Cox, Law Professors Harry Kalven Jr. of the University of Chicago and Gerald Gunther of Stanford both contend, the court of



FEDERAL JUDGE JOHN SIRICA  
He said no.

appeals can still cite Nixon for contempt. "The appellate court has already issued its order," said Kalven, "and it may take judicial notice of the President's defiance even without Cox." Other scholars, however, believe that the courts have no independent prosecutorial power; without a prosecutor, there is no adversary relationship. Cox could be appointed a counsel to the court or an agent for the grand jury that is still assigned to consider Watergate and related indictments. "Cox has a right to be heard," said Gunther. Another possibility of further legal action, according to Black, lies in Congress's power to appoint a special prosecutor on its own.

More threatening to the President, however, is the specter of impeachment. Nixon's actions almost certainly killed chances of a quick confirmation by the Congress of House Republican Leader Gerald Ford as Vice President. The appointment had been seen by many as another attempt by Nixon to placate the Congress by elevating one of its own. Now the Senate would almost certainly delay, waiting for a determination of Nixon's own fate.

The climactic weekend had its origins in events that slowly increased in pace from the beginning of the week.

Even before the court of appeals handed down its ruling, it had urged Cox and Nixon's attorneys to try to reach some kind of agreement that would enable the critical evidence to go to the grand jury without forcing a legal showdown over separation of powers. Cox and the President's counsel, Fred Buzhardt, had met for many hours before advising the court that they could not find a mutually acceptable means to do this. Last week Nixon through his aide Alexander Haig, reopened talks with Cox.

A White House official conceded



SOLICITOR GENERAL ROBERT BORK  
He would and did.

## THE NATION

that such talk had influenced Nixon to make his move. Nixon, almost totally preoccupied with the crisis in the Middle East, undoubtedly felt the burden of the Watergate suspicions and litigation more keenly than ever. As Senator Baker put it: "You can only be nibbled by so many ducks at a time." Perhaps he even saw the war as a propitious time to try to get rid of Watergate once and for all.

On Monday, members of the Cox staff got a hint at what was up when he asked key men: "What would you think of John Stennis as referee in the tapes dispute?" Whatever position each staff man took, Cox assumed an opposite stance, provoking discussion. By Tuesday, Cox and his staff had reached a consensus: the issue was not really whether Stennis was the right man; the whole procedure was wrong. No court would

Professor Charles Wright, had meanwhile been summoned from Texas to Washington, and was reportedly astonished that Nixon was willing to yield to the extent that he would allow outside examination of the tapes.

On Thursday, Cox wrote to Wright, detailing eleven objections to the procedure. He wanted clearer standards spelled out as the basis for omitting any "slippery" national security matters. He urged that any agreement must include presidential papers as well as the tapes, and cover other, Watergate-related crimes in addition to the Watergate wiretapping and its concealment. But most basically, he said the matter could not be entrusted to "any one man operating in secrecy, consulting only with the White House."

Getting no reply, Cox left his office at 6:30 p.m. to visit a brother. He was sit-

cussions would be futile and declared ominously: "We will be forced to take the actions that the President deems appropriate." Turning restless in the afternoon, Cox wandered over to Brentano's to browse in search of a book for the weekend. But he had forgotten his glasses and returned to his office. By 6:30 p.m. Cox still had no idea what the White House was planning. "The President is going to fire you," said one aide. Cox shrugged and went home.

**Cooperative Attitude.** Earlier Stennis had been telephoned by Presidential Counsel Buzhardt, who had said that he and Haig would like to come to the Senator's office to see him. Stennis gave them 20 minutes, in which they outlined Nixon's plan. "My attitude," Stennis explained later, was "one of cooperation." Stennis said that he would never personally verify "the authenticity" of the tapes, however; if he found any signs of tampering he would have to "seek some technical advice."

As negotiations with Cox continued, Stennis was consulted three more times by Haig and Buzhardt. But he later said that he had not been told that Cox was objecting to the entire plan; he knew only that Cox had not yet accepted it. Stennis insisted that he would not agree either unless the Senate Watergate committee's Ervin and Baker also approved. Since the Ervin committee's suit for the tapes had been thrown out of court by Sirica (on the narrow ground that the committee had not demonstrated a legal standing to bring the suit), Stennis thought the Nixon offer might be the best the Senate could obtain.

His resistance set off a frantic last-minute effort to find Ervin and Baker and summon them to the White House. Baker was located at a symposium in Chicago, Ervin at an airport in New Orleans. Both flew immediately to Washington. They were ushered into the Oval Office and urged by Nixon, Haig and Wright to accept the proposal.

Whenever Ervin asked a question about how the agreement might affect court cases and how Cox felt about it, the conversation was diverted to the Senate committee's problems. Repeatedly one of the White House participants pleaded: "The President needs a strong hand in order to deal effectively with the Middle East crisis." Ervin, a long-time hawk in military matters, and Baker, an ideological ally of the President's, decided to go along.

It turned out that they had been had. Preoccupied with getting the tapes for their committee, they did not see the implications of their assent. Nor did Nixon and his aides help them to. As Baker now says, that assent was not intended to underwrite the President's refusal to abide by the appellate court's decision and to order Cox out of the arena. Cox, they felt, had "a different set of problems than we have," and, incredibly, they felt that Nixon was simply making an overture to them concerning their desires for the tapes and that this did

accept summaries of tapes as evidence. Any judge would insist on the tapes.

By Wednesday, the Cox team had thoroughly studied a three-page proposal written by Richardson. It suggested that Nixon appoint a "verifier" of the tapes, an individual of "wide experience, strong character and established reputation for veracity." He would be given the tapes "for as long as he considered necessary," as well as a transcript of the tapes that would omit portions that "were not pertinent." His job would be to play the tapes and correct the transcript as needed. He could paraphrase any "embarrassing" language—an apparent reference to Nixon's propensity for coarse phrases. This verifier could also delete references harmful to "national defense or foreign relations."

The Richardson plan then called for the finished transcript to be submitted to the courts, which would be asked to accept the whole procedure. Accompanying the verified documents would be sworn affidavits that the tapes had not been altered in any way. The President's outside expert, University of Texas Law

ting on the floor at his brother's house, surrounded by excited children, when Wright called from the White House. Wright rather coldly declared: "You won't agree with these." Then he cited several stipulations, which Cox took as an ultimatum. They included the insistence that Nixon be allowed to name a single tapes auditor—and, indeed, he had already selected Stennis—that under no circumstances would any portion of the tapes be given to any court, and that Cox must agree not to seek any additional tapes or documents. Richardson's proposal for supplying transcripts had been definitely changed to allow only Nixonian summaries. The Attorney General later contended that his plan had not precluded Cox from pursuing more tapes in court. Cox asked Wright to put it all in writing.

On Friday morning, Cox dispatched a letter to Wright, declaring that to agree to the conditions would be to break his public pledges to pursue all evidence of "criminal wrongdoing by high White House officials." Wright replied bluntly in another letter that any further dis-



WRIGHT, ERVIN, NIXON & BAKER AT WHITE HOUSE MEETING ON TAPES  
*The President's pitch was all too persuasive.*

not affect Cox's demands. For two savvy Senators, it was a naive performance, and for Nixon a devious one.

Learning that the White House planned a major statement on the tapes, Cox returned to his office in the evening. But no message from Nixon or his counsels was conveyed to Cox. Instead, he got a copy of the President's announcement from a newspaper office. Cox quickly dictated a reply objecting to Nixon's plan, and called his press conference for Saturday. He went home, took two sleeping pills, a rare practice for him, and retired for the night.

The Nixon announcement had contained one order aimed directly at Cox. "Though I have not wished to intrude upon the independence of the special prosecutor," Nixon said, "I have felt it necessary to direct him, as an employee of the Executive Branch, to make no further attempts by judicial process to obtain tapes, notes, or memoranda of presidential conversations."

Next day at his press conference, Cox indicated that he simply could not accept this order, since it totally transformed the rules under which he had been hired. Carefully refusing to be drawn into any blanket characterization of the President's action, Cox praised Eliot Richardson for acting with honesty and restraint throughout the high-stakes negotiations over the tapes. Pointedly, Cox noted that because Richardson had been empowered to select and hire him, he figured that only Richardson could dismiss him. He indicated clearly that he had no intention of resigning. Cox returned to his office, sipped a beer, and replied to a lawyer's question about what the staff should do next: "We ought to rest." He relaxed by walking alone in woods near his McLean, Va., home.

Shortly after the Cox press conference, Richardson and his top aides were gathered in his office at the Justice De-



FBI AGENT CLOSING THE DOOR TO COX'S OFFICE AFTER HE IS FIRED  
But the problems of Watergate were still wide open.

partment. His White House telephone rang. The caller (apparently Haig) conveyed the message: "Fire Cox." Replied Richardson: "That I could not do." The Attorney General turned to his deputy, Bill Ruckelshaus. "You'll have to do it, Bill." Solemnly Ruckelshaus answered: "I wouldn't do it, either." All eyes in the office turned to the third man in the department's hierarchy, Solicitor General Bork. Said Bork slowly: "I probably would." It turned out to be a prophetic admission.

"No Choice." In a five-paragraph letter of resignation, Richardson cited his pledge to the Senate, given at his confirmation hearings last May, that he would "not countermand or interfere with the special prosecutor's decisions or actions." He added: "I trust that you understand that I could not in the light of these firm and repeated commitments carry out your direction . . . In the circumstances, therefore, I felt that I have no choice but to resign." Nixon accepted with a one-sentence note: "It is with the deepest regret and with an understanding of the circumstances which brought you to your decision that I accept your resignation." In his note to the President, Ruckelshaus wrote: "I am sorry my conscience will not permit me to carry out your instructions to fire Archibald Cox." Ruckelshaus was never directly informed that he had been fired, but he felt obliged to resign.

The FBI on White House orders moved quickly to take possession of the offices and files of the ousted men. One Cox deputy prosecutor, arriving to pick up some personal papers, was denied even that access. Said he: "Perhaps it wasn't *Seven Days in May*, but it was one day in October."

A high White House official defended the President's actions: "In the face of a direct challenge to his authority, the President had no option but to fire Cox. You can't tolerate that kind of thing." Then he repeated the view that any defiance of Nixon's will at home would be taken as weakness abroad, par-

ticularly in the Soviet Union. Added this aide: "This is starchy stuff. We've had six months of hemorrhaging. We had to take terminal action."

Indeed, Nixon's action could prove to be terminal—although not in the way the White House had intended. By firing Archibald Cox, Nixon had removed one of his best hopes of eventual vindication: a final judgment by an independent investigator that the President was in no way criminally implicated in the Watergate deceptions and transgressions. Now a decapitated Justice Department, stripped of any independence and trying to continue the investigations, could come to a similar judgment—but with little credibility.

At the same time Nixon, who once proclaimed so emphatically that it was time "to turn Watergate over to the courts," had short-circuited any such course. As Democratic Senator Adlai E. Stevenson aptly summed up the sorry situation last week: "By denying the special prosecutor access to the White House tapes, Mr. Nixon gives the American people no reason for confidence that they will ever know the whole truth about Watergate. By his disdain for the orderly processes of the law, he gives us no reason to believe that justice will be done." The Nixon argument that the real issues were the preservation of the constitutional separation of powers and Executive privilege could have some remotely redeeming merit; but it was hardly enhanced by his dismissal of Cox.

A nation that in many ways had undoubtedly been growing weary of Watergate now finds it impossible to put the matter behind it. To call into question the vital issue of whether its own Government recognizes the primacy of a system of laws over political expediency and personal power is to rock the nation to its philosophic foundations. It is not any imagined White House enemies in the press, the courts or the Congress that have created this situation. Richard Nixon, through his reckless deeds of last week, did it all alone.



Cover-Up III, Phase II 1973 HERBLOCK





KISSINGER & BREZHNEV IN MOSCOW



ISRAELI TANKS & JEEPS POUNDING PAST

## THE MIDEAST WAR

### DIPLOMACY

# The Superpower Search for a Settlement

The Middle East war entered its third bitter and bloody week with no clear end in sight, as the Israelis continued to fight, in their view, for the security of their state and the Arabs to try to regain their lost territories and their self-respect. From opposite sides of the globe the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the U.S., funneled ever larger supplies of arms, ammunition and aid to their respective allies locked in combat, even as they moved dramatically to press for the terms of a peace.

The most hopeful sign that they might be making progress was yet another of Henry Kissinger's sudden, surprise trips, this one to Moscow, where he began a series of private meetings over the Middle East crisis with Soviet Party Boss Leonid Brezhnev. Kissinger had spent much of the week with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin in Washington, but he managed to cover his departure with a typical, though perhaps inevitable, Kissinger feint; he spent the evening at a glittering dinner party hosted by Huang Chen, the head of China's liaison office in Washington. That affair had been planned as a send-off for Kissinger's scheduled trip to Peking early this week; actually, he had already postponed that journey for at least several days in favor of the emergency mission to Moscow.

Kissinger slipped away from the party before midnight and jetted out of Washington aboard his presidential aircraft about 1 a.m. Saturday. The trip had been "requested" by Brezhnev, and it was clearly a compelling request. Kissinger was accompanied by no fewer than nine State Department officials, in-

cluding longtime Middle East Negotiator Joseph Sisco. Thus the spirit of détente, which pledges both nations to cooperate in cooling off dangerously tense areas of conflict, seemed alive and reasonably well, despite some menacing appearances to the contrary.

Indeed, were it not for those efforts at a settlement, Washington and Moscow might well have seemed on a collision course, as their supporting roles in the conflict intensified:

► Vowing to assist the Arab nations "in every way," the Soviet Union was airlifting daily some 1,000 tons of combat equipment, including highly effective SA-6 missiles, into Egypt and Syria. More than 17 Soviet ships, including six cargo vessels loaded with armored vehicles, steamed through the Dardanelles, pushing Russian naval strength in the eastern Mediterranean to about 75 vessels, well above any previous levels.

► Responding in kind, the U.S. employed giant C-5A, C-130 and C-141 cargo planes to carry 5,000 tons of equipment to Israel. Promising to replace Israel's heavy aircraft losses, the Pentagon began speeding Phantom jet fighters to the war zone. Two U.S. attack carriers and two amphibious assault carriers, each bearing 1,800 Marines, began gathering in the eastern Mediterranean, and some 50 U.S. Air Force personnel were sent to Israel to help with the airlift. President Nixon asked Congress for an emergency appropriation of \$2.2 billion for Israeli resupply.

Despite the earnestness of Kissinger's trip, that rearmament duel fed fears that the Nixon Administration's most impressive accomplishment, relaxation

between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., might be in grave jeopardy. Much of the week's early rhetoric was hardly encouraging. Presidential Adviser Melvin Laird complained publicly to correspondents that "the only manner in which détente can be proven is by deeds, not words, and the Soviet Union has not been performing as if détente were here." A recognition that the new relationship was an enveloping issue in the crisis was echoed in Moscow by Premier Aleksei Kosygin, who protested that "the opponents of détente are trying to revive the cold war and cause mistrust in peaceful coexistence by exploiting the hostilities in the Middle East."

That was, it turned out, reassuring evidence that opponents of cooperation had not yet gained the upper hand. As the two sides began to meet at the highest levels, both seemed genuinely interested in a common goal: to end the fighting in such a way that serious negotiations toward a long-range solution to the Middle East impasse could begin. The most immediate obstacle was the ferocity of the fighting itself. Until one side gains a decisive advantage or the fighting settles into a clear stalemate, neither side seems likely to cease firing.

The week's seemingly paradoxical superpower activity, mingling risky military gestures with discreet peacemaking efforts, was part of a delicate and sophisticated policy dance. Both the White House and the Kremlin were trying to influence Middle East events to avoid a wider war on the one hand, and on the other to prevent either of the combatants from being over-powered, which would only perpetuate the regional en-





THE GOLAN HEIGHTS INTO SYRIAN TERRITORY



KOSYGIN WITH SADAT IN CAIRO

imity and prevent any stable solution.

Almost from the outbreak of the fighting, Kissinger and Dobrynin have remained in continual contact in Washington. Last week they lunched together, spoke two and three times daily by telephone. The two concentrated mainly on trying to frame a resolution for the U.N. Security Council that would not run into an immediate veto by nations sympathetic to either side and thus harden diplomatic positions. Kissinger and Dobrynin sought a cease-fire resolution that would also create machinery for direct negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The diplomats recognized, of course, that no such resolution would be effective until the combatants were ready for it. Kissinger was kept closely informed of Israeli attitudes toward such a prospect by Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban, who was in New York attending the U.N. General Assembly.

Nixon and Kissinger also met at the White House with the foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Morocco and Algeria at the Arabs' request. While few details were announced, the diplomats, saying they spoke for 18 Arab nations, urged the U.S. to play a peacemaking role and presented some broad ideas for negotiation of a settlement.

**Oil Cutoff.** Putting economic pressure behind their proposals, the Arab nations announced a cutoff in oil production for export, pegging it at 5% each month. Aimed mainly at the U.S., the move was also intended to exert pressure on Washington through the nations of Western Europe and Japan, which are more dependent on Middle East oil than is the U.S. Saudi Arabia promptly went further, first declaring an immediate 10% cutoff in oil production and then cutting off all oil shipments to the U.S., as did Abu Dhabi, Libya and Algeria.

Obviously in preparation for the Kissinger talks, the Soviet Union dispatched Kosygin to Cairo, where he conferred with Egyptian President Anwar

Sadat. There were unconfirmed reports that Kosygin made specific proposals for a peace plan, including a "partial" Israeli pullback from the 1967 cease-fire lines and a DMZ, separating Israel from its neighbors, that would be patrolled by U.N. troops, some of them from the U.S. and Russia. Kosygin had been back in Moscow for only a few hours before Kissinger was on his way.

In an effort to make the diplomatic atmosphere as clear as possible, the Soviets kept their rhetoric purposely mild. Soviet publications made no effort to inflame domestic opinion against either Israel or the U.S. They did not portray the Israelis as having started the new war (the Arabs do) and did not criticize the U.S. airlift. Brezhnev declared that the fighting ought to be stopped quickly, that the U.S.S.R. would try to help bring that about, and that his nation recognizes Israel's right of existence as an independent state.

Many neutral and European analysts agree with the Kissinger view that the Soviet Union has acted so far with reasonable restraint, considering its pro-Arab history and commitments. As they see it, the Kremlin has moved in understandable self-interest to regain influence in the Middle East, after being so unceremoniously kicked out of Egypt by Sadat in 1972. Now Arab opposition is ringing with praise of the Russians. Yet it is not in the Soviet interest, in this view, for Moscow to push for a mortal blow at Israel. That not only would clash head-on with U.S. interests, but even if successful would again reduce Soviet influence in the region. In this analysis, Moscow needs Israel as a source of tension, so that Soviet policy has a continuing role to play in the Middle East.

These experts also agree with the Administration's view that the Soviet Union still places détente among its highest priorities, partly as a diplomatic weapon in its rivalry with China (unable to match the Soviet military contribution, China has had to settle so far

with mere pronouncements of support to the Arabs). Moreover, Brezhnev's whole leadership rests on his détente policy, and there is no sign of any serious second thought or new resistance to this policy within the Kremlin. The Soviet need for American food and other trade is still great, and international agreements over nuclear weapons, the emplacement of military forces in Europe, and the status of national boundaries in Eastern Europe still take precedence in Russian policy over its interests in the Middle East.

**Acceptable Risk.** Indeed, last week Soviet delegates still were attending SALT talks in Geneva. American businessmen were in Moscow putting finishing touches on an exhibition of oil- and gas-extraction equipment. Officials of the U.S. space program got their first on-site look at the Soviet mission-control space center, and plans proceeded for a joint space venture.

If much of the U.S. seems to take a more alarmist view of the current dangers to détente, this may well be caused by differing perspectives on what a practical détente really means. The Russians seem willing to accept and to risk American-Soviet conflict in specific and localized situations as part of the normal competition between the two powers. The U.S. seems more inclined to see linkages between situations, fearing that conflict in one area threatens the whole relationship.

Despite the tragedy of renewed fighting in the Middle East, it is conceivable that double benefits could come out of the bloodshed. Globally, if détente survives despite the strains of such a crisis, it could emerge strengthened. Regionally, the newly inspired pride among Arabs and the convincing demonstration of the fact that Israel needs practical guarantees of its physical security could create new negotiating opportunities. Both possibilities would be healthy moves toward peace in the world, albeit purchased at a terrible cost in both Arab and Israeli blood.

## THE CONFLICT

# Arabs v. Israelis in a Suez Showdown

*"There is a process of osmosis in the Arab world today. A new Arab will slowly emerge. The old world of sheiks and sultans will fade away, and the new Arab will replace them. This probably will not happen in my lifetime, but only when it happens will the Palestine problem be finally solved."*

—Gamal Abdel Nasser, 1960

Nasser is long dead. The Palestinian problem is far from solved. But the day of the New Arab he predicted does in-

machismo was dynamically expressed by Nasser's successor, President Anwar Sadat, in a speech before Egypt's People's Assembly (see box page 29). "No matter what happens in the desert, there has been a victory that cannot be erased," said Sadat. "According to any military standard, the Egyptian armed forces have realized a miracle. The wounded nation has restored its honor; the political map of the Middle East has changed."

Even as Sadat spoke, Egyptian and

portantly, a missile battle. The Egyptians' Soviet-built SA-2, SA-3 and new, mobile SA-6 and SA-7 missiles were planted on both banks of the canal. With their high-technology controls, the SAMs held the key to victory or defeat. The Israelis, who had easily established air superiority in the previous Middle East war, had to destroy this fortress of SAMs and artillery. In the first week of the war, Israel had lost about one-fourth of its air force; most of the planes had been shot down by SAMs. Since a direct aer-



EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT RESPONDS TO OVATION AT PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY BEFORE SPEECH. He rattled Egypt's missiles while offering a concrete set of peace proposals.

deed seem to be emerging. Last week thousands upon thousands of Arabs were fighting Israelis—with a skill and determination they had never shown during the disastrous Six-Day War of 1967—in the bloodiest conflict in the modern history of the Middle East. At week's end the outcome was in doubt, though the tide of battle seemed to be turning slowly in favor of the Israelis. While fighting continued in the Sinai, Israel managed to put a force of 15,000 men and 350 tanks across the Suez Canal, where it smashed SAM sites and artillery positions along the western bank and fought its way 15 miles into Egypt in the direction of Cairo about 60 miles away. Unless the Egyptians could check the Israeli advance in the west, the action there was bound to lead to the erosion of the Egyptian position in the Sinai over the next several days.

However the battle might end, it was already clear that the Arabs had never fought better against the Israelis. No longer were they so likely to be dismissed as powerless and posturing giants too weak to defeat the tiniest of neighbors. The extraordinary flowering of Arab

## The War's Toll

U.S. Defense Department estimates of losses after 14 days of fighting in the Middle East:

	Killed, Wounded*	Aircraft	Tanks, Armored Vehicles
EGYPT	7,000	182	740
SYRIA	7,300	165	840
IRAQ	380	21	125
JORDAN	40	—	20
MOROCCO	490	—	—
ISRAEL	2,900	120	810

\*If the U.S. in a war had suffered losses proportionate to Israel's, the American casualty total would be 247,000.

Israeli armies were locked in one of the greatest tank battles in history. Some military observers estimated, in fact, that more tanks and armor were involved than in the classic World War II tank battle at El Alamein in 1942. Cairo newspapers grandly billed the conflict as "the biggest tank collision in the history of war."

It was also, and perhaps more im-

portant, a missile battle. The Egyptians' Soviet-built SA-2, SA-3 and new, mobile SA-6 and SA-7 missiles were planted on both banks of the canal. With their high-technology controls, the SAMs held the key to victory or defeat. The Israelis, who had easily established air superiority in the previous Middle East war, had to destroy this fortress of SAMs and artillery. In the first week of the war, Israel had lost about one-fourth of its air force; most of the planes had been shot down by SAMs. Since a direct aer-

As the week began, Egyptian forces held firm in their positions on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal, protected from Israeli planes by the umbrella of artillery and missiles. Occasionally they staged commando raids behind Israeli lines, including two on Sharm el Sheikh, at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba. By midweek the Egyptian buildup in the Sinai had reached more than 100,000 men and 1,000 tanks. They struck spasmodically at Israeli positions in an effort to ease the pressure on Syrian, Jordanian and Iraqi forces on the battlefronts of the Golan Heights.

Then the Israelis struck back, in the central sector of the front along the eastern bank. Jets screeched overhead, and the eerie white tracks of ground-to-air missiles marked the bright autumn sky. Hundreds of M-60 Patton tanks moved through the golden dunes and barren

Israeli artillery firing at Arab positions on the Syrian front.







FIES DEL—GAWWA







PATRICK FOREST—GAMMA



S. KREINER—GALILIA JOURNAL



Y. KREINER—GALILIA JOURNAL

Left: Israeli prisoners, after their capture by the Syrians in the Golan Heights. Above, bound Israeli P.O.W. being held by Syrian captor. Below: podlock on Israeli P.O.W.

Above: Israeli equipment burns in the Sinai after attack by Egyptian MIG-21s. Below: Israeli soldier, wounded in Sinai fighting, being helped to evacuation helicopter.



YVES DEL—GAMMA



## THE MIDEAST WAR

hills of the Sinai, throwing up huge rooster tails of swirling sand.

The purpose of the dramatic assault quickly became clear. In a surprise push, the Israelis sent a spearhead of tanks and armor across the canal just north of the Bitter Lakes to the western bank. The goal of the task force was to destroy missile and artillery sites in Egypt and harass the supply lines that nourished the Egyptian divisions in the Sinai. The Israelis quickly resupplied the infiltration commando force with tanks, halftracks and artillery, first by barge and later across bridges hastily constructed north of the Great Bitter Lake. By week's end the force of 15,000 men was making headway in a three-pronged assault on the western bank of the canal: northward toward Ismailia, southward toward Port Suez and westward toward Cairo.

How long would the fateful battle last? "It will not be measured in months or weeks," said Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, who made a sudden inspection of his forces on the western bank. But massive tank battles have tra-

ditionally dragged on for many days without resolution. The principal fighting at El Alamein lasted almost a fortnight before British Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery finally broke through Rommel's line; by that time neither side had many serviceable tanks left.

While the savage battle raged in the Sinai, the northern front was relatively calm. Syrian forces had been bolstered by contingents from Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, but for most of the week the front was stable. Having cleared Syrian troops from most of the Golan Heights, the Israelis had carved out a comparatively narrow salient aimed at the heart of Syria before being stopped near the village of Saassa about 23 miles from Damascus. It appeared that the Israelis were content to solidify their gains there while turning their attention to the Sinai.

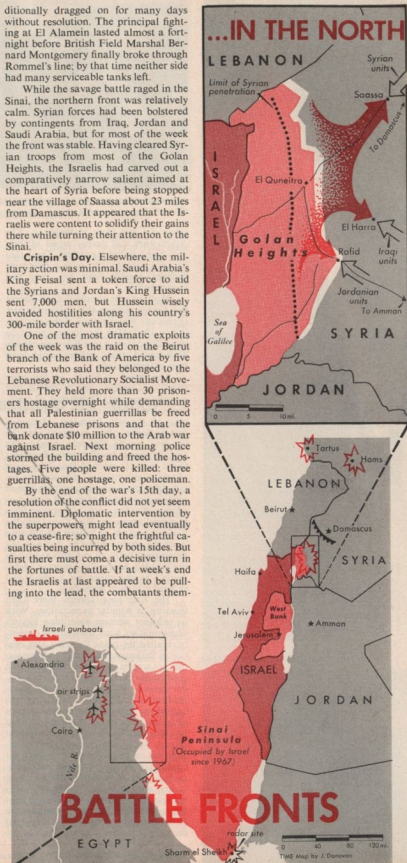
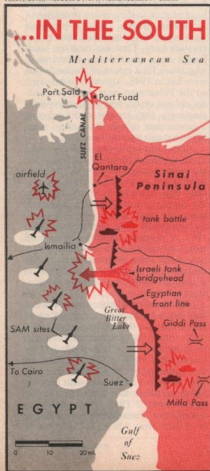
**Crispin's Day.** Elsewhere, the military action was minimal. Saudi Arabia's King Feisal sent a token force to aid the Syrians and Jordan's King Hussein sent 7,000 men, but Hussein wisely avoided hostilities along his country's 300-mile border with Israel.

One of the most dramatic exploits of the week was the raid on the Beirut branch of the Bank of America by five terrorists who said they belonged to the Lebanese Revolutionary Socialist Movement. They held more than 30 prisoners hostage overnight while demanding that all Palestinian guerrillas be freed from Lebanese prisons and that the bank donate \$10 million to the Arab war against Israel. Next morning police stormed the building and freed the hostages. Five people were killed: three guerrillas, one hostage, one policeman.

By the end of the war's 15th day, a resolution of the conflict did not yet seem imminent. Diplomatic intervention by the superpowers might lead eventually to a cease-fire; so might the frightful casualties being incurred by both sides. But first there must come a decisive turn in the fortunes of battle. If at week's end the Israelis at last appeared to be pulling into the lead, the combatants them-

On the Golan Heights: Israeli convoy hit by Syrian guns (top); Syrian trucks destroyed by Israelis (center); dead Syrian soldier (bottom).

FRANCE MATCH—CAMERA S (TOP); PIERRE AUERBACH—GAMMA







WRECKAGE OF SOVIET-BUILT SA-3 ANTIAIRCRAFT MISSILE IN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS  
On both fronts, the SAM was the nemesis of the Israeli Air Force.

selves did not seem to realize it. The Arabs were still deeply proud of their new-found military prowess. The Israelis were still stricken with a bitterness perhaps greater than any they had known before.

Most Israelis simply did not accept the Arabs' protests that their only aim in the war was a return of the territory lost in 1967. Had the country given up the ground it won in 1967, many Israelis believed, their nation would have been exterminated.

The mood in Egypt, on the other hand, was initially one of elation and even amazement. That spirit of confidence was fueled in part, by the rhetoric of Egypt's President Mohamed Anwar Sadat, often maligned even by his own people. Scarcely three weeks ago, Egyptians scoffed when President Sadat publicly warned that "the stage of total confrontation" was soon to begin. After all, it was a claim that he had made many times before and never acted upon. But last week, as Egyptian forces surged across the Suez Canal into the Sinai, thousands of Sadat's countrymen lined the streets when he drove to the Parliament building in Cairo to address the People's Assembly. Cheering "deliriously," as one paper put it, the crowd shouted: "Victory for Sadat!"

His hour-long speech more than lived up to popular expectations. With its redolent phrases describing Egypt's finest military hour, the address distantly recalled the great Crispin's Day oration in Shakespeare's *Henry V*. More significant was its substance. There was the predictable touch of saber rattling as Sadat warned that Egypt now had a home-made missile, the Zafir (Victor), that was capable of striking "the deepest depths of Israel." Yet under the guise of what he called an "open letter" to President Nixon, Sadat also offered a very concrete set of peace proposals. They included a cease-fire, provided that the Israelis would, under international supervision, withdraw to the pre-1967 war boundaries; an international peace conference at the U.N. to be attended by Palestinian as well as Arab leaders; and reopening the Suez Canal as soon as the

"liberation" of the eastern bank had been completed.

The proposals were not, on the face of it, likely to be accepted by Israel. Nonetheless, the speech demonstrated a far more conciliatory position than the Egyptians had taken for several years. It was notable that Sadat now felt strong enough to talk at all about peace and the limited objectives he seeks. Before Oct. 6 neither he nor any other Egyptian leader could have done so. By and large, the speech was well received in the Arab world. In Cairo, the reaction was positively ecstatic. Editorials called it a "triumph of reason" and "the most beautiful speech delivered by an Arab head of state to the present generation."

**White Horse.** Sadat's proposals were essentially nationalist rather than revolutionary. Thus his message could hardly have pleased the Palestinians, who yearn for a return of the lands that were lost in 1948. Although Sadat skirted the Palestinian issue, fedayeen leaders did not object openly to the speech; seemingly, they are resigned to playing a subordinate role in the current stage of the struggle against Israel.

What has most surprised the world about the latest Middle East war is the astonishing transformation of the Arab fighting force—indeed of the Arab psyche—that it seems to imply. In truth, the change is not as sudden as it may seem; the Arab forces were not really as hopeless as they appeared to be in 1967, or probably as able as they look today. Nonetheless, it does seem that a new Arab spirit is emerging, and the darkest irony is that the chief catalyst of that change is the Arab nations' principal enemy.

The Israeli challenge since 1948 has had much to do with the thrusting of the Arabs into the modern world. "We really should thank Israel for forcing us to grow up," a Beirut publisher remarked last week. In Cairo, a Palestinian businessman recalled the time in 1948 when his father met with a group of fellow Palestinians to plan for the war against Israel. "They proclaimed King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan as commander of their army," he said, "and several





ISRAELI ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIER RUSHES TO BATTLE RAGING IN THE SINAI  
Heading for a clash of armor in the tradition of Montgomery and Rommel.

members of the group proposed that Abdullah, a descendant of the Prophet, should ride on a white horse like a caliph at the head of his troops. Twenty-five years later, their sons are fighting with some of the most sophisticated weaponry ever used in war."

After the Six-Day War, Egypt's humiliated military leaders did their best to analyze their mistakes. An Egyptian general told TIME Correspondent Wilton Wynn last week: "We concluded

that our 1967 defeat was largely due to the fact that our air force had been knocked out immediately. We also concluded that the enemy was not so strong as it seemed, and we were not so bad as we had looked."

The Egyptian military command made a thorough study of the kind of desert war that would have to be fought against Israel and trained the army carefully for it. That meant, for one thing, that the goal was not to occupy terri-

## THE MIDEAST WAR

tory but to destroy the enemy forces. "A desert is like an ocean," an Egyptian officer told Wynn. "A navy doesn't try to occupy a big segment of the ocean; it tries to destroy the enemy fleet. The desert is a paradise for a tactical commander but hell for a logistics officer."

For the past six years, Egyptian soldiers have been using the irrigation canals of the Nile Valley as training ground for the attack they some day expected to make across the Suez. Explains one Egyptian military man: "Our men bridged those canals again and again and again, till they reached the point that crossing a canal was simple. On Oct. 6, the only difference was that across this canal was the real enemy." Within 72 hours, the Egyptians managed to move more than 70,000 troops and an estimated 500 to 700 tanks to the eastern bank—a remarkable logistical feat by any military standard.

The Arab forces did not, to be sure, accomplish these successes entirely on their own. Some Western military observers believe that Soviet advisers played a key role in the credible performance of both the Syrian and Egyptian armies in the current war. Despite Sadat's well-publicized expulsion of some 17,000 Soviet technicians last year, Egypt now has about 1,000 Russian mil-

## Sadat: Egypt Has "Restored Its Honor"

Not since the death of Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1970 has the Arab world been so moved by eloquence and inspiration. Speaking last week to Egypt's People's Assembly, President Anwar Sadat talked of the country's aims in war and peace. Excerpts:

In the name of God, brothers and sisters: I do not think you expect me to stand in front of you so that we may boast together about what we have realized in eleven days—the most dangerous, magnificent and glorious days in our history. The day will come when we shall recount what each of us has done and how each one bore his trust, how the heroes of this people and this nation went out in a dark period carrying the torches of light and pointing out the road between despair and hope.

I say without pretense that the 1967 setback was an exception in our history. I came out of the ranks of these forces and have lived their traditions. [Their] record was magnificent, but our enemies—old and new imperialism and world Zionism—tried to [besmirch] this record so as to make the nation doubt its shield and its sword.

The Egyptian armed forces performed a miracle, by any military standard. I would not be exaggerating if I say that military historians will long pause to examine and study the operation carried out on Oct. 6. The risk was enormous and the sacrifices were grave.

But the results of the first six-hour battle of our war were magnificent. Our wounded nation has restored its honor and the political map of the Middle East has been changed.

We are fighting for the sake of peace, the only peace that is worth the name: that is, peace based on justice. The great mistake our enemy has made is that he thought the force of terrorism could guarantee security. [The Israelis] are now faced with [a war of] attrition. That we can bear much better than they can. I would like to add, so they may hear in Israel: we are not advocates of annihilation. Egyptian missiles are now on their pads ready to be launched to the deepest depths of Israel. We could have given the signal and issued the order. But we realize the responsibility of using certain kinds of weapons and we restrain ourselves. Yet they have to remember what I still say: an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth...

The whole world has hailed our courage in the defense of our rights. Only one state differed with the whole world, and that was the United States. It was not enough that its arms enabled Israel to impede all attempts for a peaceful settlement. Now it is further involved in something that is more dangerous and more perilous. It is hastening to the aid of the aggressor, replacing his losses and furnishing him with new equipment.

I would like to tell [President Nixon] that our aims in this war are well known and need no further clarification: First, we have fought and we will go on fighting to liberate our land, which was seized by Israeli occupation in 1967, and to find the means to restore the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Second, we are prepared to accept a cease-fire on condition that the Israeli forces withdraw forthwith from all the occupied territories under international supervision.

Third, we are ready, once the withdrawal from the territories has been carried out, to attend an international peace conference at the U.N. Fourth, we are ready to start clearing the Suez Canal and open it to navigation. Fifth, we are not prepared to accept ambiguous promises. What we want now is clarity—clarity in goals and in means.

SADAT (LEFT) WITH GAMAL ABDEL NASSER



itary advisers. While Egyptian troops fired the Russian-built SAMs at Israeli planes, the more complex job of coordinating and planning the missile attacks was handled by Soviet experts. Advisers from the U.S.S.R. also helped the Syrian armed forces. In fact, the estimated 100 Soviet MIGs that Moscow sent to Syria last week were reassembled at Aleppo by Russian technicians.

The entire Arab world, disunited as it was, was shocked by the 1967 defeat. "No Westerner," says a Lebanese intellectual, "can fully understand the sense of peril we felt after 1967." He traces the rise of the new Arab mentality to Nasser's "farewell" speech, of June 1967, in which the humiliated Egyptian leader declared: "The imperialists believe this was a personal defeat for Nasser. But it was a defeat for the whole Arab people, and the Arab people will not accept that defeat."

Two months later, at a postwar conference in Khartoum, Nasser achieved

a sort of pan-Arab détente, primarily with Saudi Arabia and Libya. The new relationship between Egypt and Saudi Arabia was particularly important because it helped eradicate the ideological conflicts of what had been a kind of inter-Arab cold war. Egypt, after all, was officially a socialist state; Saudi Arabia was a traditionalist monarchy. "Nasser's revolution," says the same Lebanese scholar, "was replaced by the beginning of a moderate, middle-of-the-road nationalist Arab war."

**Operation Spark.** The political developments encouraged by Nasser coincided with momentous social changes taking place throughout the Arab world. A generation ago, Egypt did not even have free primary education; today there are more than 200,000 students in its universities. Twenty-five years ago the Arabian-American Oil Co. started a small school to teach Saudis to read and write well enough to take low-level clerical jobs in the company. Today

Saudis with advanced degrees in economics and engineering have not only learned how to run their petroleum industry; as the West is finding to its discomfort, they also know how to conduct a policy of oil diplomacy and set off a run on the dollar on Europe's money markets.

A generation of Arabs has by now grown up in a society in which old class lines have gradually been eroded. At the time of the partitioning of Palestine, a gentleman in Egypt avoided manual labor to the point of rarely carrying his own briefcase. Students in the Arab oil cities would never work lest they disgrace their families (by suggesting that the family was in need of money) but would take jobs as dishwashers or bellhops while studying in Europe or the U.S. Many of these young intellectuals—the emerging elite of the Arab world—returned home imbued if not exactly with the Protestant work ethic then with a determination to transform the strat-



EGYPTIANS SHOUTING SUPPORT FOR SADAT

Cairo is only about 80 miles west of the Sinai desert. Yet judging from the outward appearance of the city early last week, the great tank battle being fought on the desert could have been a thousand miles away. Since the war started, the Egyptian capital has carried on with business as usual.

During the day, the air is filled with the clatter of jammed streetcars and the bawling of street vendors. Taxi drivers curse other motorists, while the wail of Arabic music from countless transistors is everywhere. Periodically the radio broadcasts a low-keyed statement from the government on the latest developments in the war.

All of this is in sharp contrast to

## Cairo: A New Sense of Pride

the mood of the city during the Six-Day War of 1967. Then, Egyptian leaders thumped their chests and issued a barrage of communiqués proclaiming victories that had never occurred; loud-speakers on Cairo's streets blared the stirring rhythms of martial music; and people poured into the streets, almost hysterical with joy, thinking they were destroying the Israeli armed forces.

The 5,000,000 Cairenes seem affected mostly by what the war has done to their observance of Ramadan—the holy month of Islam during which devout Moslems abstain totally from food, drink and tobacco from sunrise to sunset. From Cairo, TIME Correspondent Wilton Wynn reports that "normally, Ramadan nights are more lively than the days. The Cairene's habit is to have an enormous 'lunch' at about 2 a.m. and go out on the town celebrating. But now, because of the war, restaurants shut at 11 p.m., as do most cabarets."

Besides dampening the nightly revelry of Ramadan, the war has affected Cairo in other ways. Street life comes to a halt during the infrequent alerts, as the people duck into air-raid shelters. Thanks to the war, Cairenes are paying more for food and for bus and train fares, driving their cars less because of gasoline rationing, and eating less meat. With the opening of Cairo's universities delayed, many of the 130,000 students have entered the army or the civil defense force. Crowds form in front of the military hospital on Roda Island in the Nile River, waiting quietly to visit relatives who were wounded in the fighting. Overhead they can hear the evenspaced drone of Soviet cargo planes, flying new war supplies into Cairo airport.

No one seems to complain. Wynn reports that most of those in the capital feel that the tenacity with which Egyptian forces defended their bridgeheads in Sinai during the first dozen days of the war reinforced the new sense of pride that Cairenes have felt since the army launched its surprise attack. One Cairo citizen told Wynn: "These new taxes and prices are backbreaking. But never mind. We are no longer under the heels of the Israelis." An Egyptian businessman who frequently travels to Britain admitted: "After the 1967 war I refused to go to London. I couldn't hold up my head and face my British friends. Now, after these past ten days, I wouldn't mind traveling again."

This new pride is also reflected in the Egyptian attitude toward foreigners. During the 1967 war, non-Arabs were regarded as spies or enemies. Angry mobs often formed about them. During the past two weeks, however, the Egyptians have been friendly and hospitable to foreigners—even Americans.

As the week ended, the newspapers began reporting the massive tank battles that were raging in Sinai. Red-bannered headlines blared: SAVAGE ARMOUR BATTLES ALL DAY AND NIGHT. Yet neither the government nor the papers had yet admitted the true extent of the Israeli advances on the west bank of the Suez Canal. Apparently oblivious to the Israeli troops less than 60 miles away, Cairenes continued to crowd the cafés of New Street, where men sat sipping thick coffee and intently playing chess and backgammon. Worshipers gathered at the mosque of Zeinab for noon prayers. Peddlers, as always, hawked their roses on the streets.



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ified societies from which they came.

Anwar Sadat inherited this process and made it his own. He was frustrated by his troubles with the superpowers and by the Arabs' continuing divisions and limitations, and he was hampered by his own credibility gap: he could not mobilize the Arabs because none of them believed he was serious about doing so. In the end Sadat precipitated a war that he nicknamed Operation Spark—a desperate gamble that through adversity the Arab world might find its real strength.

The style of the operation, like Sadat's own, was one of unprecedented coolness and masterly deception. There had been rumors and intelligence reports of troops massing, but in the week before the attack all was calm; some soldiers, in fact, were demobilized to give the impression that fighting was not imminent. The period of Ramadan had begun, and President Sadat declared publicly that the authorities should see

to it that the special foods for the season were available in abundant supply: at the time it sounded like the political gesture of a weak government rather than a call to arms.

The subterfuge began at the top. When the fighting started, Sadat's Economic Minister was off in London, his Commerce Minister was in Spain, his Information Minister was in Libya and his acting Foreign Minister was in Vienna. Obviously a great many things had happened to the Egyptians, including their ability to keep a secret.

**Bungled Plots.** T.E. Lawrence once remarked that the Arabs believe in people rather than institutions. To the extent that this is true, Egypt—and the rest of the Arab world as well—has suffered for the lack of a living hero since Nasser's death in 1970. Certainly, few Arabs at first noticed anything particularly charismatic about his successor.

The son of a military-hospital clerk in the Nile Delta, Sadat for much of his

political life had seemed to be not much more than a devoted epigone of Egypt's beloved leader. In fact, he was somewhat the more impetuous and strong-headed of the two. During World War II, for instance, Sadat was jailed as a political subversive after the failure of two absurdly bungled plots to smuggle a former Egyptian general over to the Germans. First a getaway car broke down, then an escape plane crashed on take-off. Along with two Nazi spies who were his accomplices, Sadat was betrayed by a belly dancer and arrested. Israelis frequently cite Sadat's pro-German sympathies during World War II as proof of his implacable anti-Jewish feelings. Actually, Sadat collaborated with the Nazis primarily because they were the enemies of his enemy: the British, who then occupied Egypt.

Sadat first met Nasser in 1938, when both men were lieutenants in the army. At the time, Sadat was a hothead who schemed and dreamed about blowing up

## Jerusalem: Waking Up from a Dream

In front of the Wailing Wall in the Old City of Jerusalem last week, Jewish youths linked their arms for the traditional dances and songs of the joyous holiday of Simhath Torah. Yet the festivities, watched by curious Arabs, could not mask the grim mood of Jerusalem and Israel. The city and the nation are gripped by a cold fury, reported TIME Correspondent Marsh Clark: "It is an icy resolve that has stilled the passing joke. Like the coming of the khamin, the cruel desert wind that afflicts the spirit of all those in its path, the Arab attack has plunged Israel into a state of shock. The myth of Israeli invincibility and Arab ineptitude has been demolished at one stroke."

Life in Jerusalem proceeds on a near-normal basis, but there is also ample evidence of war. So many young and even middle-aged men are in the army that the city seems populated solely by old men, women and children. Many small businesses are shuttered, while hotels in Holy Land sites are nearly empty or closed altogether. Only two of Jerusalem's movie theaters have remained open—and both are underground. Bus schedules have been drastically reduced and construction has nearly halted, as able-bodied workmen have left for their reserve units. Swimming at Israel's beaches has been banned because of a lack of lifeguards. Universities have postponed exams, and a maternity hospital in the city has cut post-birth confinement from 48 to 24 hours to make beds available for the battle wounded.

Israeli officials have not yet imposed rationing. There have been no signs of hoarding or panic, and the shops seem to have plenty of food (except for a shortage of eggs, probably caused by the

blackouts, which have disturbed the hens). Many of the jobs left vacant by called-up reservists have been filled by volunteers, ranging from teen-age American tourists to long-haired Hasidic Jews with white beards. An unexpected benefit of the crisis is the dip in crime. On one day last week, there were only 49 home burglaries in all of Israel, 50% below the peacetime average.

At night, reports Clark, "Israel takes on the air of a nation under siege. In Jerusalem the population goes indoors at sundown and stays there. The lights illuminating the walls have been shut off. Auto headlights are covered with blue paint and the windows are covered with whatever blackout material is at hand, often blankets and rugs. Blackout wardens roam the streets, warning offenders and making arrests."

The telephone and the radio are the pervasive national means of communication. Phone service was one of the first things installed in the Golan Heights, so that servicemen could call home, or at least pass on the message that they were alive and well. The Israeli broadcasting services issue constant—but censored—battle reports. A survey last week revealed that 98% of Israel's population listens to the news bulletins. In fact, national life almost came to a standstill last Wednesday as virtually all of Israel listened in while Premier Golda Meir addressed the Knesset.

So many civilian volunteers have flooded public agencies that many of them are being turned away. Unable to contribute to the war effort in other ways, some Israelis who own cars are on stand-by duty, ready to rush the ill to hospitals or take the elderly to mar-



ISRAELI CHILDREN IN KIBBUTZ BOMB SHELTER

kets. Public officials have been working round the clock and sleeping in their offices. One senior official told Clark that those who have not been mobilized into the armed forces feel "ashamed to go out into the streets. I'm afraid of my neighbor's eyes. I realize that I'm doing important work, but men ten years older than me are at the front."

"Israel has awakened from a very rosy dream," says the official, adding that "we now have a cold resolution, which is dangerous for the Arabs. During peacetime we are perhaps the most divided society on earth, but in time of war, there is a sense of solidarity that comes from the holocaust. The Arabs have put us in a very bad temper."



## THE MIDEAST WAR

British installations; Nasser was the cooler one who dissuaded him from such wild plots. With others, the two soldiers formed the nucleus of what became the Free Officers' Committee, which eventually ousted King Farouk in 1952. For all his antimonarchical zeal, Sadat almost missed the coup. On the night that it was scheduled to take place, Sadat somehow failed to receive his tip-off message and spent the evening at the movies. By the time he found out what was happening, Farouk's headquarters in Cairo had already fallen. Nonetheless, Sadat was selected to announce the overthrow on Cairo radio.

Neither then nor since has Sadat seemed like a typical revolutionary. A careful dresser who favors British blazers and tasseled loafers, he has long been an avid Ping Pong player. On a visit to the U.S. a few years ago, he wandered through secondhand bookshops and bought a set of the complete works of Zane Grey; his favorite author, he once said, was Lloyd C. Douglas (*The Robe*), whose novels he discovered while he was in prison. He lives with his attractive, half-British second wife, Gehan, and their four children in a comfortable house at Giza, a Cairo suburb.

**Yes-Yes.** Under Nasser, Sadat rose from director of army public relations to editor of the semiofficial Cairo newspaper *al-Gumhouriya* to president of the National Assembly. Nasser valued his loyalty but sometimes called him the *Bikbashi Sah* (Colonel Yes-Yes) because of his excessive docility. "If he would only vary the way in which he agreed," Nasser was known to quip, "I would feel a lot better." But in the year before his own death, Nasser made Sadat his Vice President.

Sadat's first years as President were difficult ones. As a leader of his people, he was something of a come-down from Nasser. He had no single power base of his own. He clashed with some of his ministers and in 1971 summarily fired his powerful Vice President, Ali Sabry. Sadat also faced rising resentment from his officers over the presence of Soviet advisers. Moreover, as Arab frustration grew over the unresolved "no war, no peace" situation with Israel, Sadat had an unfortunate habit of promising action but never delivering. His "year of decision," 1971, passed uneventfully. "We do not shrink from any sacrifice," he declared last year when he shuffled his Cabinet and made himself Premier as well as President, but nothing happened. "The battle is now inevitable," he promised last spring, but hardly anyone believed him.

In hindsight, Sadat appears to have worked with remarkable singlemindedness over the past two years. In 1971 he signed a 15-year friendship treaty with the Soviet Union in the hope that it would lead to a resolution of the impasse with Israel; it did not. Last year, after the Soviet Union failed to give him the offensive weapons he wanted, he expelled some 17,000 Soviet advisers—re-

portedly on the advice of Saudi Arabia's King Feisal, who reasoned that this setback for the Soviet Union would lead the U.S. to pressure the Israelis into making a compromise on the occupied territories; it did not.

Last February Sadat sent his national security adviser, Hafez Ismail, on a peace mission to Washington and other capitals in an effort to break the diplomatic deadlock. That did not work either; hardly had Ismail left Washington when the U.S. announced that it was supplying Israel with 48 more Phantom jets; Sadat concluded that he could count on nothing from Washington.

Sadat had grown disillusioned with the peace initiatives advanced by U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, said Sadat's press adviser, Dr. Ashraf Ghorbal, last week, because "it became ob-

vious that the U.S. looked on the ceasefire as an end in itself, leaving Israel permanently in control of our territory."

In the Egyptian view, Ghorbal told TIME Diplomatic Editor Jerrold L. Schecter, "we were made many promises, heard much about good intentions, were told sweetly to be patient [because] Israel will ultimately become convinced that it was in her real interest to solve instead of keeping the problem as a powder keg. But all this yielded to a later argument that we be realistic, that we were militarily defeated, that a partial settlement is better than nothing."

But within the Arab world Sadat was bringing about a new sense of fraternity, particularly during the past six months. He regained the support of King Feisal, who was said to feel chagrined that his advice to the Egyptian President about ousting the Russians had been mistaken. Libya's hotheaded strongman Muammar Gaddafi (TIME cover, April 2) wanted to unite with Egypt immediately; Sadat persuaded him instead to accept a gradualist approach to the merger (partly as a result, Gaddafi has sulked and done little during the current fighting).

**Rightful Heir.** The climax of Sadat's diplomatic maneuvering took place last month, when he met in Cairo with Syria's President Hafez Assad and persuaded him to join in a plan of limited war. The two leaders also staged a reconciliation with Jordan's King Hussein and accepted him as a limited partner in the coming battle; they apparently agreed, however, that Jordan was too vulnerable to Israeli airpower to warrant direct Jordanian intervention. The Palestinians were not directly involved in the planning, but Sadat announced that he favored the establishment of a Palestinian state. Both Hussein and Sadat then made gestures of friendship to the Palestinians in the name of Arab unity; Hussein released 970 political prisoners from Jordanian jails, and Sadat dropped charges against 200 dissident students and journalists.

Last week Sadat was directing the fighting from an office at army headquarters on the edge of Cairo, where he is residing for the duration of the war. A devout Moslem who has made the hajj (pilgrimage) to the holy places of Mecca, Sadat observed the strict Ramadan fast. Most days he napped from 4 until 6 in the afternoon, then worked late into the night holding operations meetings with his staff. He has a reputation for listening closely to his generals and of deferring to their expertise; but he makes the decisions himself.

At week's end the real question facing Egypt and the Arab world was the quality of those decisions. Did Sadat have a plan for stemming the Israeli advance from the canal? Would his people forgive him if, in the end, Egypt's armies were to suffer another battlefield defeat? No one could say. But for the moment he was his nation's hero and Nasser's rightful heir.



SADAT ON PILGRIMAGE (1971)  
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## EYEWITNESSES

# Reports from "The Meaningless War"

*From their vantage points on both sides of the war, TIME correspondents in the Middle East last week sent the following battlefield reports.*

*From William Marmon, with Israeli forces in the Sinai:*

"How about that Israeli task force operating on the west bank of the Suez Canal?" we asked the senior officer, who walked with the stiff waddle characteristic of an aging warrior. He removed his goggles, revealing the dark eyepatch that left no doubt about who the officer was. Defense Minister Moshe Dayan replied coyly: "That is, how you say, the \$64,000 question." Dayan was relaxed,

the offensive and some of their units had even crossed the canal. In the southern sector they had already regained considerable territory occupied by Egyptian troops and we drove to within a few miles of the canal in two places. Everywhere the Israeli troops displayed ebullient confidence. "Yes, there are a few Egyptians left down there," said one trooper. "But they won't be there long. It will end for all of us very soon."

We were offered a soft drink as the soldiers took time off from the push forward to celebrate the joyful feast of Simhath Torah. Soldiers—dressed in sweaty fatigues and sporting twelve days' growth of beard—linked hands and

over a bunker on the Bar-Lev Line, Israel's former first line of defense on the eastern side of the Suez Canal. We had just crossed the canal by driving over a wooden-plank bridge that rested atop 16 pontoons. Egyptian troops standing on their tanks waved as we passed and called out, "Allahu Akbar" (God is the greatest). Others gave us the clasped-hands salute of welcome or flashed V-for-victory signs with their fingers.

Everywhere we found Egyptian soldiers in buoyant spirits and bursting with confidence. Although we could easily hear the rumble of Israeli artillery to the east and the occasional crash of shells near us, the troops behaved as if they had already won the war. Once we looked back across the Great Bitter Lake into Egypt and saw a pall of white smoke where the bitter battle raged on between Israeli and Egyptian armor,

DAVID RUBINER



ELAZAR WATCHING ISRAELI TROOPS ON THE WEST BANK FROM A HELICOPTER  
A daring tactical end-run aimed at destroying Egypt's deadly Soviet-built missiles.

DAYAN (LEFT) & ISRAELI GENERAL ON WEST BANK OF CANAL

confident, even nonchalant as he met reporters on the tarmac of a small airfield in the Sinai. He gave the impression that the Israeli task force was not in any trouble, but he was not about to reveal how much havoc it had wreaked.

We met Dayan during our second trip of the week to Sinai. On the first visit, it was already clear that the Israeli army had recovered from its initial setback. There was a constant movement of men and equipment along the vast network of roads crisscrossing the central Sinai region. Israeli rear bases were jammed with trucks, tires, earth-moving equipment, ammunition and tank vans. Soldiers were bivouacked along the road, with masses of armored cars, artillery, anti-aircraft guns and tanks near by. The Israeli logistics system was obviously working well. The soldiers were eating fresh meat, fruit and vegetables. They even seemed to have enough water vans to provide welcome makeshift showers.

When we returned for a second look at the Sinai, the Israelis had gone on

danced around one trooper holding miniature Torah scrolls, singing the traditional happy songs of the holiday. Near by, a first-aid station received wounded—a reminder that the war was far from over.

The troops seemed at ease and relaxed, despite the occasional incoming rounds of artillery. Reinforcing their confidence was the arrival at the front of supplies airlifted to Israel from America. The roads were full of trucks with English markings. A further encouraging sign to the troops was the exodus of many senior commanders from a permanent command post in the middle of the Sinai. When we asked where these officers had gone, we were told with a wink that they were "far forward." We assumed that meant on the Egyptian side of the canal.

*From Wilton Wynn, with Egyptian forces in the Sinai:*

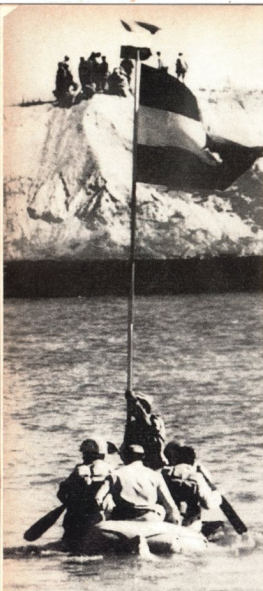
"There it is!" shouted Ismail, our military driver, as he pointed to the red, white and black Egyptian flag waving

Still, no one around us showed the slightest concern.

We halted in a flat, sandy space while masses of vehicles, moving around like nervous beetles, went churning up the sand. Soldiers swarmed all over us eager to be photographed.

A husky private from Damietta, after learning that I was an American, immediately started quizzing me. "Why is Nixon selling Phantoms to Israel?" he asked. "Nixon magnum [Nixon is nuts]! We have the oil and so many people, and yet Nixon gives the Israelis the weapons to fight us. What's the matter with him?" Another private flexed his muscles and said: "Never mind. This land was held by the Israelis two weeks ago, and now we have it. This land is ours and we won't leave." Some of the troops were anxious to show us the wreckage of a blue Israeli helicopter, which they claimed to have shot down with their rifles. "Five Israelis were killed and six we took as prisoners," they boasted.

Up and down the east bank of the



EGYPTIAN FLAG ON EAST BANK OF SUEZ  
"This land is ours."

canal, bulldozers were leveling the Bar-Lev Line. At one still intact bunker, we met Brigadier General Abdel Wahab al Hariri, 39, commander of the unit that came across the canal and stormed the Israeli positions in that sector on Oct. 6. A veteran of previous wars with Israel, Hariri said that "after we captured this position, the Israelis counter-attacked with tanks. But we foot soldiers knocked out 15 of their tanks, captured 17 of their men, and killed 100 of them. Our best weapon was the courage of the Egyptian soldier," he said proudly. "I am not saying that the Israelis are not brave. They fight bravely. But they like to fight in a tank, while we fight on our two feet."

Almost everywhere we went, Egyptian officers told us that they would launch their next offensive "as soon as possible." Yet it was obvious that their emphasis was on consolidation rather

than advance. On our tour of the front, we saw military vehicles spread out across the desert like swarms of locusts. There were troop transports, trucks, bulldozers, tractors and columns of tanks that seemed to stretch for miles. There was no doubt that, at least in the sector of the front that we saw, the buildup was continuing.

*From Marlin Levin on the Golan Heights:*

At a temporary forward camp inside Syria, we encountered Chaim Topol—the movie star who played Teyve the Milkman in *Fiddler on the Roof*. As soon as the war started, Topol rushed home from London to volunteer his services. He was assigned to be an escort officer for visiting correspondents. The soldiers who crowded round the actor were not disappointed. "I took some correspondents to the Sinai the other day," he told the men, grinning. "When we got close to the shooting, one of them said that he had to get back to Tel Aviv because he had a deadline." The soldiers laughed.

Driving deeper into Syria, we passed abandoned concrete bunkers built into the sides of the hills by the Syrians and protected by blast walls nearly six inches thick. Strewn about were hundreds of empty cans of Danish beef and Lebanese cheese. A camouflaged truck, looking quite new, sat abandoned outside one of the bunkers. Our escort officer, a major in intelligence, searched the truck and came out with a manual printed in Russian.

The Israelis had converted one bunker into a first-aid station. The soldiers stood silently, saying nothing, not even smoking. Others were sprawled out as still as corpses. "They're not dead," one grizzled trooper explained, "just dead tired." He explained that the men had been in combat since the opening shots of the war. One soldier asked me to phone a message to his parents. On a piece of paper ripped from a brown grocery bag he scribbled: "Dear Mom and Dad, I am writing this between battles. Don't worry. I'm O.K. Everything is fine. Love." Another soldier handed me a list of names and phone numbers, asking me: "Please call and just say *drishat shalom* [regards] and tell them we're O.K."

Further south we came upon a row of Israeli Centurion tanks and one muddled Ford station wagon. A bald, roly-poly civilian, incongruously wearing a white shirt and dark trousers, was distributing egg sandwiches and cold drinks. He was a construction contractor from a town near Nazareth, too old to fight in the war. Every day he packed his station wagon with sandwiches and ten-gallon containers of soft drinks and drove to the front. Whenever he found a unit, he stopped and distributed his refreshments.

Later, near a battered fort, we spied the only flag we had seen all day, a shredded, blue and white Star of David.

Commanding the fort was a young lieutenant from Tel Aviv. Leaning against a bunker, he reflected bitterly: "Back home they call this 'the Yom Kippur war' or 'the war of the Day of Judgment.' I call it 'the meaningless war.' There's no point to it. We are fighting it because the Arabs started it. We are just pounding each other to hell, causing a lot of casualties, breaking each other's necks for no earthly reason. The Arabs are not going to get back their territory this way. We could achieve that result by talking. But here we are fighting to kill each other—and we are going to kill a lot of them, the poor bastards."

*From Karsten Prager in Damascus:*

The war greets you almost as soon as you arrive in Syria's capital. At perhaps 25,000 ft. over this city of mosques and markets, an Israeli jet, easily visible to the eye, explodes in a tiny flash and a puff of whitish smoke. Seconds later, a dull thump is heard as it crashes to the ground. The fighter plane was the victim of a "Soviet SAM," as Damascenes call their wonder weapon. The successes of the Soviet missiles are a major reason why the almost 900,000 citizens of Damascus seem relatively relaxed and unworried, even though the war is only 23 miles away.

Morale is high in Syria, no doubt about it, and so is a sense of unity and a feeling that the odds can be overcome. Damascenes do not seem to mind the inconveniences of the war: gasoline shortages, bread lines in the ancient covered *sukas* (markets), closed movie houses, irregular electric and telephone services, sporadic mail delivery and strict censorship. They hardly notice the camouflaged trucks of the Syrian army that continually rumble through the wide, European-like boulevards or the large numbers of their steel-helmeted soldiers carrying AK-47 automatic rifles along narrow, thousand-year-old alleyways. Some lightheartedly boast that when they hear a jet overhead they know whether it is an Israeli Phantom or one of their own Soviet-built MIG-21s. One Damascene explained: "The Phantom sound is softer. When you hear it, it is already gone."

Because of censorship, most Syrians have no idea of the magnitude of their army's losses. In the euphoria of thinking themselves ahead in a game they have never before won, they do not seem to care much. When the fighting stops, they expect a solution that will not only restore the Israeli-occupied lands to the Arabs but will result in a settlement for the Palestinians. One banker told us: "We are strong. We, not Israel, are the Middle East."

Perhaps strongest of all in Damascus is the feeling that even if the Arabs lose, the city will never be surrendered without a bloody struggle. "Even our young boys will fight if the Israelis try to take us," the banker told me. "They will have to kill all of us. Damascus for the Israelis? Never!"

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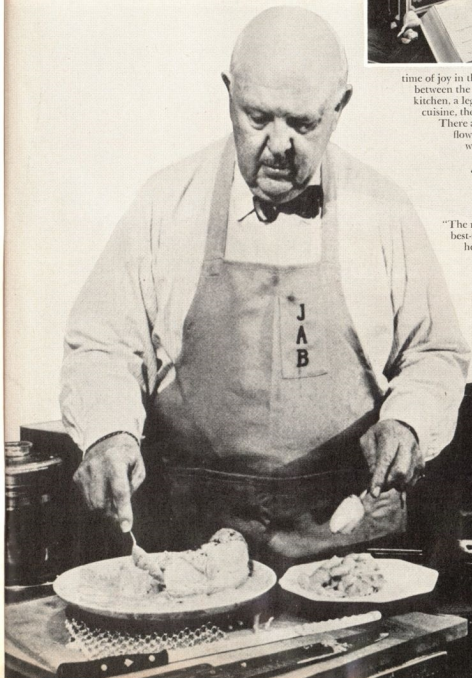
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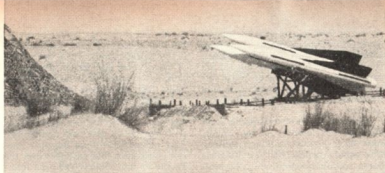
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ISRAELI SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILES IN THE SINAI

## WEAPONRY

# The Desert as a Proving Ground

Like Spain more than three decades ago, the Middle East has become a proving ground for some of the newest weaponry and tactics of the major powers. In fact, two weeks of warfare between the Israeli and Arab armies has already taught military planners in both the Kremlin and the Pentagon that a classic offensive weapon developed by the Nazis during the Spanish Civil War—the tank onslaught with close aerial support—may be somewhat outmoded. That combination, used brilliantly by the Israelis in 1967 to win the Six-Day War, has proved to be far less effective this time, largely because of the vulnerability of aircraft and tanks to deadly new missiles.

By far the most decisive new weapon in the Middle East fighting to date is the Soviet SAM-6 surface-to-air missile, which had never before been used in combat. The Israelis encountered it on the Sinai front while their aircraft were attempting to knock out the pontoon bridges placed across the Suez Canal by the Egyptians. In the first two days of fighting, 40 Israeli planes were shot down near the canal, most of them by SAM-6 batteries. The missile was equally devastating over the Golan Heights, protecting the Syrians from the full fury of the Israeli air force and exacting a heavy toll of F-4 Phantom and Skyhawk jets.

Code-named Gainful by NATO offi-

cials, the SAM-6 is a slim (6-in. diameter), 19-ft.-long solid-fuel rocket mounted in a group of three on a tracked vehicle. Thus, unlike the older SAM-2 and SAM-3 missiles, which require a permanent base, the new SAM can be moved along with armored forces, providing them with an umbrella of protection that extends from treetop level to an altitude of 35,000 ft. Furthermore, while the Israelis (with U.S. equipment and advice) know how to evade or neutralize the SAM-2 and SAM-3, they so far have no effective countermeasures against the triple-threat SAM-6. Each of the new missiles has in its warhead a radar system that guides the weapon to an enemy aircraft at near supersonic speed.

In addition, the SAM-6 is equipped with a heat sensor that can guide it to the aircraft's hot jet exhaust pipe. Finally, in its beam-riding mode, the SAM-6 can be directed by its operator, who keeps the aiming dot of an electronic gun sight on the attacking aircraft. That is all it takes to send the missile accurately along a radar beam to the target. To make matters even worse for the enemy, the frequency of the missile's radar systems can be changed quickly, making it difficult to jam or confuse them with electronic countermeasures.

Neither Israel nor the U.S. has anything comparable to the SAM-6. The U.S. radar-guided Hawk missile, used by the Israelis, is effective against low-flying

aircraft but vulnerable to jamming.

Other Russian weapons have also contributed greatly to the improved Arab showing. Soviet-built Snapper and Sagger antitank rockets knocked out as much as a third of Israel's 1,900 operational tanks in the first ten days of fighting. These solid-fuel rockets are accurate at distances of a mile or more and are directed by a gunner who merely keeps the target tank in his cross hairs. Electronic signals from the gunner's controls are transmitted through hair-thin wires that uncoil from the missile as it closes in for the kill. But the Israelis are at least on equal footing in their antitank missiles, and have already knocked out more than 1,000 Arab tanks.

These weapons include French-designed, Israeli-modified, wire-guided missiles and simple bazooka-type weapons with a warhead designed by the Israelis to penetrate the thickest armor (16 in.) on Soviet tanks. Using these missiles, the Israelis have decimated Russian T-54 and T-55 tanks and already scored an impressive number of kills on the T-62, the new Soviet main battle tank, which had never before been used in combat.

The Israelis also had available a small number of American-made Mavericks, one of the "smart" bombs first used in Viet Nam. Carried aboard a fighter-bomber, it has a small TV lens and computer in its nose. The pilot can fix the target (usually a tank) in his sights, and lock onto it. The Maverick will then hit the target even if the attacking plane takes evasive maneuvers or leaves the area. About 200 more Mavericks are being shipped to the Israelis in the current U.S. airlift.

Other advanced Soviet and U.S. weapons are also being sent or already in use in the Middle East.

For the Arabs:

► The SAM-7 Strela, a heat-seeking antiaircraft missile fired in clusters of eight to twelve from portable tubes or individually from the shoulder of an infantryman. It was effective against U.S. helicopters in Viet Nam until crews began firing flares to confuse it.

► The SU-20, a swing-wing fighter-bomber being tested as a tank killer in Syria. Several have been caught on the ground and destroyed by the Israelis.

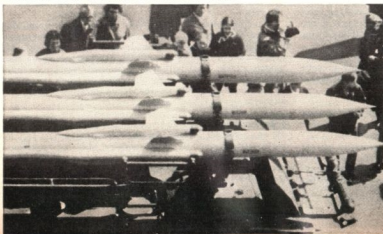
► The AS-5 Kelt, a 200-mile-range, winged, supersonic rocket that is fired at a ground target from a bomber a safe distance away. In the first week of the war, an Israeli pilot in an F-4 intercepted a Kelt flying toward Tel Aviv and shot it down.

► The Scud, a ground-to-ground guided missile with an 80-mile range. It is this missile—and not the Egyptian-built Al Kahir and Al Zafir rockets mentioned by Sadat in his speech last week—that poses a threat to the Israelis.

For the Israelis:

► The TOW (for tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided) antitank missile, a portable weapon that

THE SOVIETS' LETHAL SA-6 MISSILES ON PARADE IN MOSCOW



## THE MIDEAST WAR

proved extremely effective in Viet Nam.

► The LAW (for light antitank weapon), a hand-held bazooka-type rocket that weighs only 5 lbs.

► The Walleye, a sophisticated TV-guided, 1,000-lb. glide missile with a range of about 25 miles for use by A-4 Skyhawks against missile and artillery installations. It was employed in Viet Nam against artillery and other installations in mountainside caves.

► The Shrike, an anti-radar bomb that seeks radar signals and then follows them to their origin, destroying the installation. North Vietnamese radar men learned how to protect against the Shrike by changing frequencies and switching their radars on and off.

► The Standard Arm, an advanced supersonic anti-radar killer that is more difficult to fool.

► The Rockeye, an antitank weapon never before used in combat. Hung from a plane, it contains hundreds of small bombs that are aerodynamically shaped explosive charges. Released over a formation of tanks, they penetrate the thin top armor and disable many vehicles in one shot.

Perhaps the most remarkable technological development in the Middle East war is the use of military satellites. U.S. experts believe that the Russians began specific observation of the Middle East with Cosmos 596, which was launched on Oct. 3, three days before the war began. Since then the Russians have in succession launched five more spy satellites, bringing each back to earth after six days, instead of the usual 13 days, to obtain their film and perhaps electronically gathered data. The

reason is apparent: the satellites have orbits that periodically take them over the desert battlegrounds, which are so free of cloud cover and foliage that Israeli tank movements can be easily spotted. With this information from space, the Soviets are apparently making tactical and strategic decisions for the Arabs. But the U.S. also has two spy satellites that happen to pass over the Middle East, including a 14-ton Big Bird\* that can either eject film packages over the Pacific or immediately radio its information back to earth. The U.S. is presumably passing on at least some of this information to the Israelis.

\*Mysterious signals from space reported last week by Russian astronomers were not, as the Soviets suspected, messages from "an extra terrestrial civilization." They were radar emissions from Big Bird.



EGYPT'S MOHAMED EL ZAYYAT

## DEBATE

### Another Round in the War of Words

*The war of tanks and missiles in the Middle East is matched by an equally angry war of words in the belligerent capitals and in New York City, where both sides have traded rhetorical blows at the United Nations. Last week TIME Correspondent Lansing Lamont had separate interviews with Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban and Egyptian Foreign Minister Mohamed El Zayyat. The questions put by Lamont to both diplomatic spokesmen were identical. The answers were alike only in their intransigence.*

How will the cease-fire settlement, when it comes, differ this time from 1967?

**Eban:** There was no peace settlement in 1967. Egypt, Jordan and Syria were very content to accept a cease-fire proposed by the United Nations Security Council, which saved them from further military defeat. In November 1967 the Security Council adopted Resolution 242, calling for the establishment of permanent peace, which was to include withdrawal from territories occupied in 1967 and the establishment of "secure and recognized" boundaries that were to be agreed on. The deadlock exists because the Egyptians have constantly refused to submit the boundary question to negotiation.

All Israelis who look at this problem today ask themselves this question: "If we had been mad enough to abandon the Golan Heights and Sharm el Sheikh and all the Sinai and the whole West Bank [of the Jordan], would not the massive attack launched October 6 have murdered thousands of our civilians, devastated our population centers and brought us to catastrophe?" I tell you, a massacre more hideous than Auschwitz would have been a real prospect and Israel's survival would be in doubt. To suggest a restoration of the pre-1967 lines is sheer irresponsibility in the light of what's been revealed.

**El Zayyat:** In 1967 the cease-fire settlement was only a respite in the continuation of tensions. This time, our cease-fire should be the first step to a final settlement and peace.

What would your country's demands or intentions be if the war ends in a stalemate at the 1967 lines?

**Eban:** The momentum of war may carry our forces beyond the 1967 cease-fire lines in order to repel the Arab threat. The Arab states can still set a cease-fire on the basis of the previous cease-fire, then get a peace negotiation on the basis of Se-

curity Council Resolution 242. But they will find our attitude on the boundary and security arrangements deeply and traumatically affected by the damage and loss they inflicted on us on the Day of Atonement.

**El Zayyat:** I prefer intentions, not demands. If the cease-fire comes only at the '67 lines, this would be a regrettable situation. For us, it has already meant six years of political frustration and economic deterioration because of the amount of resources we have put into the war effort. It has been an almost unbearable situation in which we have spent heavily on defense to keep our men in uniform—all the while waiting for something to happen.

What is your country's interpretation of United Nations Resolution 242?

**Eban:** There is no Israeli "interpretation." Those who first proposed and supported the resolution induced us to accept it by declaring subtly that it did not rule out a boundary negotiation and a boundary agreement. Any other interpretation is a forgery.

That resolution was meant to be negotiated not simply declared. In particular, there was to be a negotiation about where the boundaries would be, because it was obvious even then that the old armistice lines gave Israel no security against sudden attack. They virtually committed Israel to a pre-emptive strategy as the only alternative to being inundated by Arab armies with Soviet weapons in the event of a sudden attack.

**El Zayyat:** We support the evacuation of all our lands. We insist on it. We got 13 votes for our interpretation last July in the Security Council. It was [America's] idea that "constructive ambiguity," a phrase coined by Mr. Eban and borrowed by Mr. John Scali [U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.], was a good thing. [The U.S. cast a veto against the Arabs at that ses-



ISRAEL'S ABBA EBAN

sion.] Our intentions are not to occupy Israeli territory or to drive Israel into the sea. We say this not out of any tender love for Israel but because we understand the political reality. We have no policy for Israel's annihilation.

What's our object? We really want peace—not as an ideological thing to please Washington or Moscow. We want it as a framework in which we can go on developing. But we cannot have peace and occupation. The cease-fire we want must be linked to complete evacuation by Israelis of all Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian lands.

If your forces gain the battlefield momentum, where will they stop?

**Eban:** I imagine that the Israeli forces will stop at the point that we think is safe against further attack. In this war we'll do what is necessary to repel the attack and ensure our security.

**El Zayyat:** Our forces will stop when they've liberated the territory of Egypt. Same with Syria. If you're asking if we're going all the way to Tel Aviv, the answer is no.

What security guarantees would your country insist on in any cease-fire settlement?

**Eban:** If you're talking about guarantees in a peace settlement, let's eliminate some illusions. The major powers [including the U.S.] apparently don't intend to commit their forces to the Middle East. The U.N. is an arena for waging conflicts, not an instrument for solving them. It cannot "guarantee" anybody's security or take a single step without Arab consent. Israel's guarantee must be its own strength as well as secure boundaries that permit her to absorb an attack without being destroyed.

**El Zayyat:** We'll accept the authority and guarantees of the Security Council. We'll consider any guarantees in which your government, for example, would have a say or a role.

In retrospect, was Israel's decision not to make a pre-emptive strike but to absorb the first punishing blow from Egyptian and Syrian forces the right one?

**Eban:** This was a responsible decision by our Cabinet. History will decide. In the short term, the decision not to launch a pre-emptive strike was very costly in human life and in acute tactical disadvantages. In the longer view, we have left no doubt about Egyptian and Syrian responsibility for shattering the cease-fire. This may be important for Israel's position in the international community.

**El Zayyat:** We did not strike first. Israel had begun an imperial task on its own—attacking our cities with impunity, going through the corridors of the Suez Gulf unopposed, raiding Lebanese territory. We had to make it less easy for Israel to launch these excursions into Lebanon, Syria and Egypt at will.

Why is there so much distrust between the Arabs and the Israelis?

**Eban:** First, when the Arabs speak to their own people, their leaders say frankly that if they got us back to the 1967 lines, this would be the first stage, to be followed by the decisive blow to the head and heart. Second, no man in his right senses believes that if the massive thrust of Egyptian and Syrian tanks on October 6 were to have succeeded in its objects, they would have come to a halt on the sand near the '67 boundaries, stepped on the brakes with a loud, victorious screech and said, "Here we stop." What nonsense! The very massiveness of the forces engaged proves that in October 1973 they decided on a total assault on Israel.

**El Zayyat:** The Israelis have taken it on themselves to be the spokesmen for all the world, including the Arabs. There's a

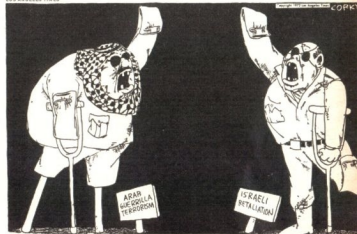
suspicion that Israel is an expansionist regime bent on annexing all the Arab area. Israel's repeated expansions, including Jerusalem [the Israelis among other things, now claim the city as their capital and have built high-rise housing projects for Jewish immigrants in the Arab sections], and its refusal to withdraw from the occupied lands enhance this image.

Egypt and Israel are both Semitic nations, both inhabit the same small area of the world and face similar geographic and sociological problems. Why can't the enmity be resolved?

**Eban:** The word Semitic is only a linguistic definition—nothing else. Hebrew and Arabic have a Semitic structure. But we are neighbors, and of course the conflict can be resolved. When Egypt decides to negotiate, I shall begin to believe that it has come to terms with Israel's statehood. Until then, I shall believe the opposite—and so will all Israelis.

**El Zayyat:** We have nothing against the Israelis as Semites or as Jews. What we have against the rulers of Israel is their aggressive and colonialist policy. Israel has never tried to gain ac-

LOS ANGELES TIMES



"An eye for an eye! A tooth for a tooth!  
A foot for a foot! A hand . . ."

ceptance of its presence in the area, only to impose itself through arms and conquest. The idea that you can speak only from the mouth of a gun has always been Israel's idea, inherited perhaps from the Europe of the 1930s.

What change is needed in attitudes before Israel and the Arab nations live in peace?

**Eban:** Our neighbors must first of all change their attitude on the principle of negotiation and listen carefully to our views and anxieties on the boundary question and on the nature of the peace. Only when they negotiate will Israel's view of their intentions begin to change. It is negotiation that creates confidence; it is not confidence that creates negotiation.

**El Zayyat:** The Israeli attitude has been to assume that they were invincible and that we were meek and weak. They pictured Egyptians as people who would never fight. The fighting spirit of the American colonies came about because you refused the serenity of living under the British Crown. Well, we don't like the serenity—Mr. Eban's word—of being occupied. The argument that this occupied territory serves as a protective buffer for Israel—that was the argument of Hitler. What we're asking for is very simple: that our territorial integrity and the rights of the Palestinians be respected. These two elements are the *sine qua non* conditions for peace in the Middle East.



## OIL

# Unsheathing the Political Weapon

After long muttering vaguely about using their abundant oil as a "political weapon," the newly unified Arab leaders finally unsheathed it last week. They vowed to cut the oil production on which the fuel-short West depends and to raise prices sharply. That oil squeeze could easily lead to cold homes, hospitals and schools, shuttered factories, slower travel, brownouts, consumer rationing, aggravated inflation and even worsened air pollution in the U.S., Europe and Japan.

The Arabs took three steps:

1) Ten Arab countries meeting in Kuwait decided that each month from now on they will reduce oil output at least 5% below the preceding month. The cutbacks will continue, they said, "until an Israeli withdrawal is completed, and until the restoration of the legal rights of the Palestinian people."

2) King Feisal of Saudi Arabia, the biggest Mideast producer, at first decreed a 10% cut in output. But by week's end, as the war seemed to be going against the Arabs, he announced a total ban on oil shipments to the U.S. Presently, 34% of the crude oil consumed daily by the U.S. comes from Saudi Arabia. Libya, Algeria and Abu Dhabi also announced embargos.

3) Six Persian Gulf oil countries lifted the posted price of crude oil (a theoretical figure on which royalties and taxes are based) by a stunning 70%, to \$5.11 per bbl. It will keep Arab oil revenues rising—helping to pay for the war against Israel—even as fewer barrels are shipped out. It will also force Americans, Europeans and Japanese to pay as much as 5¢ per gal. more for gasoline, heating oil and other products.

Parts of the Arab oil strategy are still unclear. The communiqué from Kuwait, for instance, left deliberately vague the political conditions under which the 5%-a-month production cuts would be restored; it made no attempt to define "Palestinian rights." Further, the Arabs promised to slash shipments only to "unfriendly" countries. That pledge is impossible to carry out because the Arabs have little control over where oil goes once it leaves their ports.

Some Western diplomats and oilmen thought that the production cuts were about the most modest that the Arabs could have agreed on. In fact, before settling on the 5%-a-month formula, the Kuwait conference rejected proposals for a three-month total shut-off of oil exports and for an immediate 50% reduction in production.

None of that is really reassuring, though; the Arabs essentially have the West over a 42-gal. oil barrel. World oil use will more than double during the 1970s. Slaking that intense thirst requires continual swift increases in output, and there is only one place they

can come from. The desert sands of the Arab nations hold at least 300 billion bbl. of easily recoverable oil, or 60% of the proven reserves in the non-Communist world. Merely by increasing production more slowly than the West desires—let alone reducing it—the Arabs could cause considerable discomfort.

The severity of the blow will vary widely from region to region:

**THE U.S.** superficially would seem well able to withstand a sellers' boycott. The nation now imports about a third of the 17 million bbl. of oil it burns each day, but no more than 11% comes from the Arab countries. Cutbacks could prompt other major suppliers to reduce sales to the U.S. in order to conserve supplies in a tight global market. Even so, an eventual 25% slice in Arab output would cut U.S. supply about 2,000,000 bbl. a day.


Unfortunately, those barrels are critical. The U.S. is running short of oil and needs every drop it can get. Airlines are discussing scheduling fewer flights. Democratic Senator Henry Jackson of Washington has introduced a bill that would, among other things, lower the speed limits on interstate highways to 50 m.p.h. or less and force some utilities to convert from oil to higher-polluting coal. The most chilling aspect of an oil embargo—literally—is that the U.S. might be unable to stay warm this winter. The Interior Department figures that the nation will have to import 650,000 bbl. of heating oil a day to supply adequate heat, but Economist Lawrence Goldstein of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation fears that other countries will sell only 350,000 bbl. a day. White House Aide Melvin Laird offers this advice: "I'd buy a sweater."

**WESTERN EUROPE** imports 72% of its oil from the Arab countries, and it has even fewer alternative sources than the U.S. Price increases could add \$1 billion to Britain's trade deficit next year. Supply shortages will take longer to show up—about a month's supply of Arab oil is headed for European ports in tankers already at sea—but eventually shortages are a real threat. Giovanni Theodoli, president of Chevron Oil Italiana, fears a 20% drop in Italian crude-oil imports over the next six months, and worries that "we are not going to have enough energy to support our industry." The British government already has printed ration books and stacked them in post offices.

**JAPAN** has to import almost all of its oil, 82% from the Mideast. Surprisingly, the Japanese are fairly calm, largely because they believe that they can negotiate special deals with the Arabs. Perhaps they can, but the deals would be swung at the expense of U.S. and European supplies, and of higher

SAUDI ARABIA'S KING FEISAL  
Icicles in the bedroom.



A man and a woman are shown in silhouette, holding hands and looking down at each other. They are positioned in front of a large, oversized pack of Winston cigarettes. The background is a soft-focus landscape with rolling hills and a large, bright sun or moon. The overall mood is romantic and intimate.

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## THE MIDEAST WAR

prices for the Japanese consumer.

All this assumes that the Arabs actually carry out their threats. Before last week's moves, U.S. Energy Expert Robert Hunter expressed skepticism that an Arab oil cutback would work, even as part of a war against Israel, because "every oil producer would be watching every other one to see which was trying to carve out a larger place in long-term markets by violating a proclaimed embargo."

In the Arab nations the West is facing something new: a group of countries that do not need the money that they could get by expanding output. By 1980 the Arab countries will be getting at least \$50 billion a year for their oil. The Arabs believe, with some justice, that the price of oil can go only one way—up. Oil kept in the ground is thus a kind of savings account. It will be worth more in, say, 1976 than it is today.

## Now, a Change in Wasteful Habits

To lessen demand for electricity, 750,000 lights have been removed from federal buildings in Washington. Officials in St. Paul, facing severe fuel shortages, plan to close schools in January and February. Seattle City Light is offering awards to customers who show the greatest improvement in scaling down electrical usage. First prize: five telephone poles.

If the Arab nations carry out their oil cutbacks, the U.S. could wind up 2,000,000 bbl. short of the 17 million bbl. that it consumes each day. Energy experts in government, business and academe have been pumping out suggestions to help consumers conserve fuel. For example, one immediate way to pare energy demand is to continue Daylight Saving Time right through winter, thus chopping by an hour the heavy nighttime use of electricity. Some other potential conservation measures:

**TRANSPORTATION.** The equivalent of 6,000,000 bbl. of oil a day is burned in gasoline on the nation's highways. The Treasury Department estimates that 1,200,000 bbl. of oil daily could be saved simply by ordering mandatory auto tuneups every six months, imposing a 50-m.p.h. speed limit for passenger cars, and insisting on more extensive use of car pools.

**HEATING.** If Americans were to lower their thermostats by three degrees and do their laundry in cold water, the country's oil needs would decrease by 730,000 bbl. daily. By insulating heating ducts and pipes that run through unheated spaces as well as weather-stripping and installing storm doors and windows, householders would cut energy demand and reduce their heating bills by an average of 12½%. Substantial fuel

What can the West do to counter the Arab oil weapon? There has been some talk of freezing the billions of dollars of Arab accounts in Western banks. M.I.T. Professor Morris Adelman, a leading oil expert, goes so far as to advocate a threat of military occupation of some Arab oil fields. Much more constructively, the West could form a consumers' cooperative that would allocate supplies among nations. The U.S. has made some attempts in this direction, but they have not got far. There is, in fact, a strong danger that the exact opposite will happen: consuming countries would bid against each other for available Arab oil, starting a kind of worldwide auction.

Oil consumers could also greatly accelerate research into ways of efficiently developing non-Arab sources of fuel. The Rocky Mountain shale and Athabasca tar sands of Canada may hold more oil than all the sands of the Arab deserts; some estimates run as high as

savings can also be made by 1) leaving radiators and hot-air registers unobstructed by draperies, 2) cleaning furnace filters at least every two months, 3) opening shades or blinds on sunny days and closing them at night in winter.

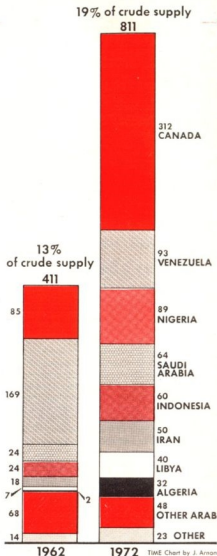
**ELECTRICITY.** Short of tossing away unnecessary gadgets like electric toothbrushes and shoeshine kits, one of the fastest ways to conserve energy is to switch to fluorescent lighting, which requires far less power than the ordinary—and highly inefficient—light bulb, but gives off from three to seven times as much illumination. There are many ways to pare energy use, but most of them would have to be enforced by law—or at least a strong national publicity campaign—to make them effective. For example, consumers can use regular refrigerators, which require 40% less power than those that are frost-free, and black-and-white television sets, which need nearly 30% less voltage than color sets.

For the longer run, there is much more that the U.S. can do. One area ripe for improvement is the generation of electricity at the power plant; all but 38% of the fuel used goes up in smoke or heat. Industry, which uses 40% of the nation's energy, could slash its requirements by a quarter if it followed a common European practice: install devices to capture heat escaping from stacks and other outlets.

Meanwhile, ready or not, most Americans will have to change their life-styles to some degree in the next few months. Says Mike Ameen, vice president of the Arab American Oil Co.: "There'll be more sex during the day and more blankets at night."

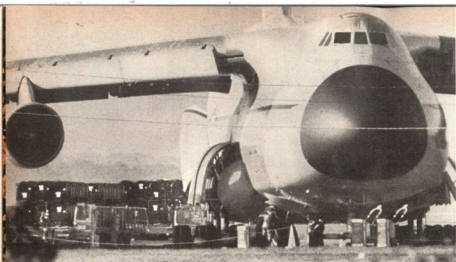
## U.S. OIL IMPORTS

In millions of barrels of crude per year



1.5 trillion bbl. Liquefaction and gasification of coal could provide a low-polluting way of using that superabundant fuel. But the capital investment required is staggering: \$5 billion to \$7 billion to get 1,000,000 bbl. of oil a day out of shale or tar sands. Senator Jackson has been advocating a U.S. emergency research effort similar to the Manhattan Project that produced the atomic bomb. James Akins, the newly appointed U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, goes further to suggest a supranational authority that would coordinate research among all the oil-consuming countries.

Both ideas are sound. Indeed, by prompting the consuming nations to investigate seriously new sources of energy, and to rethink their profligate energy-using habits, the Arabs could eventually do the West a favor. But that is for the very long run; meanwhile, the U.S. and other oil-consuming countries had best prepare for a real squeeze.



ARMS FOR ISRAEL BEING LOADED ABOARD C-5A AT DOVER (DEL.) AIR FORCE BASE

## THE SUPPLY LINE

## History's Biggest Airlift

Under a bright moon, civilian and military police with dogs patrolled the edges of Pease Air Force Base in New Hampshire last week, shooing away the curious townspeople drawn by the steady roar of big jet engines. "The only other time you hear that much activity at night is when the reservists fly in," said Bob James, who owns a gas station near the end of the runway. As he spoke, KC-135 tanker jets labored off the runway, then banked right toward the nearby Atlantic Ocean. During the day, half a dozen blue-and-white Boeing 747s had shuttled in and out of the base.

The frenetic activity at Pease A.F.B. was part of a mammoth U.S. airlift to resupply the Israeli army. The KC-135 tankers, according to New Hampshire Representative Louis Wyman, were refueling U.S. aircraft en route to Israel over the Atlantic. The 747s, owned by El Al, were ferrying bombs, ammunition and spare parts to Israel. Similar scenes took place at airbases in Europe as well as the U.S. Among them was Dover Air Force Base in Delaware, where arms were loaded aboard C-5A transports. These scenes were probably also taking place at airports in Eastern Europe as the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. engaged in fiercely competitive efforts to resupply their Middle East allies.

**Military Gear.** According to military analysts, it was the largest airlift in the history of both countries. By week's end, the Russians had flown about 9,000 tons of military gear to Egypt and Syria. Most of it was carried aboard AN-12 cargo carriers—similar to the American C-130—and by Russia's largest air transports, the turboprop AN-22, which has a payload of 80 tons (30 tons less than the giant U.S. C-5A Galaxy). The Soviets also transported an unknown quantity of supplies by ship from Black Sea ports through the Bosphorus to the Syrian ports of Tartus and Latakia and to Alexandria in Egypt.

Much of the Soviet equipment came from front-line units in Eastern Europe, according to one analyst. It included at least 600 surface-to-air missiles, some 1,200 tanks—light PT-76 tanks aboard planes, heavy T-62 and T-55 tanks on ship—and about 300 MIG-21 jet fighters in crates for reassembly in Egypt and Syria.

The Russian airlift began five days after the war started, the U.S. effort four days later. By the end of last week, how-

## OPINION

## "We've Got Enough on Our Plate"

In 1967 students at Michigan State University eagerly watched Mideast war developments on television, loudly cheering each victory of the Israelis, who were considered to be the "home team." Now, the students are taking the war far more seriously, and the rah-rah spirit is completely missing. Similarly, opinions about the fighting dominated talk shows broadcast by radio stations WABZ and WEEI in Boston during the Six-Day War, and callers were almost unanimously pro-Israel. But Paul Benzaquin, host of the WEEI show, reports that this time callers take less extreme positions on the war. He adds: "It has happened at a time when the U.S. Government is going through convulsions and the war is not the first thing on many people's minds."

**Changing Attitude.** Clearly, there is a different quality in the American attitude toward the Israelis and their latest war with the Arab world. Once, U.S. public support was almost automatic and emphatically in favor of the Israelis. Last week Gallup released the results of a nationwide survey of 1,500 adults, which was begun Oct. 6. It found that 47% supported Israel and only 6% the Arabs—but a surprisingly large 22% backed neither side, and 25% voiced no opinion at all about the war.

The Gallup survey was conducted before the U.S. decision to resupply Is-

rael, but interviews conducted across the U.S. by TIME since then show no major shift in public sympathies. For example, of 20 people polled at random in a shopping center in Canoga Park, a suburb of Los Angeles, only eleven were willing to take a stand (all supported Israel). To be sure, in all sections of the country there are strongly vocal supporters of Israel like Steelworker Arthur Stawartz, 47, of Homestead, Pa., who declares: "I'd be willing to make some sacrifices for Israel. I'd tighten my belt. We've always helped the little guy, and here's a small country somebody is always picking on." There are also quite a few supporters of the Arabs, such as Ad Copywriter Jeffrey Mullen, about 25, of Boston, who explains: "They are fighting for land that they have a better claim to than the Israelis."

Among those who are adamantly neutral, and wish the U.S. were also, is Robert K. Sells, 38, a telephone-company executive in Little Rock, Ark. "Take this thing to the U.N. It is not in our interest to get involved. Fueling Israel so it can continue the war is not an act of responsibility. Negotiation is the only answer." Declares Buffalo Attorney Lawrence J. Mattar, 39: "In the light of our present oil shortages, the decision to supply arms to Israel makes no sense. To jeopardize our supply is silly." More people seem to agree with the stand tak-

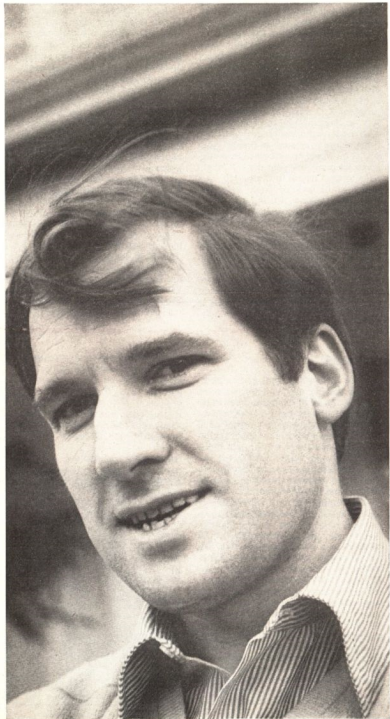
ever, the U.S. was equaling the daily Soviet tonnage and had transported approximately 5,000 tons of supplies to Israel by C-130, C-141 and C-5A cargo planes. Prevented by Spain from using U.S. bases there during the crisis, the American transports refueled at Lajes Field in the Portuguese Azores, then flew on to Israel. The Defense Department stationed what it called a "limited" number of Air Force logistics experts in Tel Aviv to help unload anti-aircraft and antitank missiles, 105-mm. shells, bombs and radar jammers.

The U.S. tonnage totals did not include supplies being hauled by El Al's jets or heavy equipment—like M-60 tanks—being transported in Israeli ships. One day last week, the Israeli freighter *Onen Det* took on tracked vehicles and other materiel at Norfolk, Va., Naval Station and then put to sea at 4 a.m. Nor do the U.S. figures include 30 F-4 Phantom fighters and 50 A-4 Skyhawk light attack bombers that the U.S. has agreed to give Israel.

Almost all of the equipment sent to the Israelis was ready for immediate use; so, too, was much of the weaponry shipped by Russia to the Arabs. Some Western correspondents reported seeing brand-new equipment clogging Israeli roads to the Sinai front as well as new Russian tanks on their way to the front south of Damascus.

More people seem to agree with the stand tak-

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## THE MIDEAST WAR

en by Mayor Robert J. LaFortune, 45, of Tulsa, Okla., who favors sending aid to Israel but not men: "We have an immense stake in the energy reserves of that part of the world, and we also have a commitment to help establish Israel as a nation. So I don't think we should take an active part in the fighting." Boston Bartender Lisa Lee, 25, puts it more bluntly: "I'm not opposed to sending some ammunition, but let's keep our boys out. We've got enough on our plate already."

**Private Doubts.** In part, the experience of Viet Nam has made many Americans more cautious about getting involved in wars in any part of the globe. U.C.L.A. Historian Peter von Sivers, 32, senses that "in the aftermath of Viet Nam, there is a feeling that a solution must be imposed, that the conflict will go on as long as we radically side with either the Israelis or Arabs." But Americans also view this war as being substantially different from the one six years ago. San Francisco Author Paul Jacobs, 55, who wrote a book about the Middle East in 1970 called *Between the Rock and the Hard Place*, notes: "The sense that Israel is threatened with extinction is missing, and even among some people in the Jewish community a feeling exists that the fight is over territory rather than the basic existence of Israel. More doubts are being expressed privately about Israeli policy than were voiced during the 1967 war."

Many Americans have a feeling, however, that both their own and their Government's response to the war is be-

ing shaped mostly by events. They would have preferred that the U.S. stay entirely out of the conflict but do not believe that it could have. Says Atlanta Stockbroker A. Robert Johnson, 40: "I thought the Americans should maintain a strict hands-off policy, but if the Russians are supplying the Arabs, we must send arms to Israel." Barbara Manard, 28, a graduate student in sociology from the University of Virginia, shares that view, explaining: "No matter what the Arabs say, if they get the upper hand, they'll try to drive the Israelis into the sea." Adds Paul Soglin, the young (28) mayor of Madison, Wis.: "I think both sides are wrong, but my main concern is that no country be annihilated. I'm concerned about the Arabs but more so about the Israelis."

In a frustrated tone of voice, Accountant K.D. Hall, 30, of Little Rock, Ark., exclaims: "Why can't we sit down with the Kremlin leaders and settle this thing before it gets out of hand?" Such a solution would be welcomed by Americans, for many fear that the U.S. might have to send troops to the Middle East if the Arabs invaded Israel itself and the Israelis seemed to be losing. That would not be enough reason for a confirmed dove like Northwestern University Law Professor Robert W. Bennett, who believes that Russia would only counter such a move by sending in troops of her own. Even he admits, however: "I just hope the question remains hypothetical. Frankly, I don't know how I would react if the Israelis were really being slaughtered."

## Doves for War

One of the ironies in the U.S. view of the conflict is that some of Israel's strongest supporters are liberals who led antiwar sentiment in the U.S. during the Viet Nam years. The Senate resolution urging the continued delivery of Phantom fighter-bombers and other war materials was introduced by, among others, Viet Nam Doves Jacob K. Javits and Abraham Ribicoff. Among the "American Professors for Peace in the Middle East" who signed an ad in the New York Times advocating support of Israel was Martin Peretz, an assistant professor of social studies at Harvard and a major contributor to George McGovern's campaign.

Yet most "doves for war," as they were christened by L.B.J. Aide John P. Roche during the 1967 Six-Day War, have little difficulty justifying their seemingly inconsistent positions. To begin with, as Author David Halberstam points out, most antiwar activists objected to U.S. policy in Viet Nam not on outright pacifistic grounds but because they were convinced that Viet Nam was "the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time." Moreover, the Israelis are hardly seeking the same order of U.S. aid as the South Vietnamese did. Says Idaho Senator Frank Church, a longtime opponent of U.S. involvement in Viet Nam but staunchly for arms aid to Israel: "The Israelis have never asked for a single American soldier to fight in their defense." Adds James M. Wall, editor of the *Chris-*

## Israel's Best Friend in Congress

When war broke out in the Middle East, Senator Henry ("Scoop") Jackson proved once again that Israel has no firmer friend on Capitol Hill. He was the first in the Senate to call for massive U.S. military aid to Israel; he advocated a decisive Israeli victory; he offered the harshest criticism of the policy of détente. "In recent months," he said, "the flow of Soviet arms into Syria reached floodlike proportions, and yet Dr. Kissinger comes before the American people to say that Soviet behavior has been moderate and not irresponsible. I cannot agree. I believe that Soviet behavior in the Middle East has been reckless and irresponsible."

When the Arab nations agreed to cut oil production by 5%, Jackson proposed a bill that would ration oil in the U.S. "I believe the Administration should start printing the tickets and have the machinery on stand-by, so we don't get caught like we did in Pearl Harbor."

Such militancy over Israel comes from a 61-year-old, mild-mannered Presbyterian who represents the state of Washington, where Jews constitute a mere 44% of the population. On the national scene, the Jewish vote of course

is more important, and Jackson has presidential aspirations. There would be more than a whiff of opportunism in his posture if it were not perfectly consistent with the views he has expressed in his 21 years in the Senate. He is an unrepentant cold warrior who still refers to "Reds" and "Commies" in his private conversation. Fearing that the Soviet Union means to dupe the U.S. most of the time, he has supported big defense spending, the anti-ballistic-missile system and the Trident submarine.

He has in particular sniped at détente ever since the word was first used to signify a lessening of tension between the U.S. and Russia. Last year he was chiefly responsible for passage of an amendment requiring the U.S. to maintain parity with Russia on all weapons in the SALT agreement. More recently, he introduced the Jackson Amendment to the trade bill; it denies most-favored-nation status to any country that does not permit free emigration—a measure aimed at the Soviet Union's refusal to let Jews leave for Israel.

Jackson is not only determined, he is also effective—a fact that is recognized by allies and opponents alike. He

does his homework; he is earnest and honest. He is nothing if not himself: plain-spoken, no shaggy locks, rimless glasses or any other concession to youth or fashion. He operates from an almost impregnable position in the Senate, where he is chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and a mem-

SENATOR HENRY JACKSON





tian Century: "The Viet Nam conflict was an internal conflict. This is a conflict between two powers over specific external borders."

Yet not every liberal sees the conflict in terms quite that simple. Linguist Noam Chomsky of M.I.T., a radical opponent of U.S. Viet Nam policy, says that the crucial issue in the Middle East is "that both the Jews and the Palestinian Arabs claim some legitimate right to the same territorial area."

**Liberal Distaste.** Perhaps the final irony is that many U.S. liberals and intellectuals, who used to preach détente and denounce cold warriors, now sharply question and even attack the current Nixon-Kissinger bargaining with the Soviets. For example, Political Scientist Hans J. Morgenthau recently decided that the Soviet Union is too far outside any "moral consensus" shared with the rest of the international community to be trusted to fulfill its commitments. In recent weeks the tough Jackson amendment that would deny the Soviet Union many U.S. trade advantages unless it changes its emigration policy won the endorsement of such liberals as Writer I.F. Stone and Columnist Joseph Kraft. To be sure, most recent liberal doubt about establishing closer ties with the Soviet Union involves distaste for internal Russian policies, especially the lack of intellectual and human freedoms. But the Kremlin's unwavering hostility toward Israel—détente or no détente—has further alienated a segment of the cause once enthusiastic liberal supporters in the U.S.

ber of the Armed Services Committee, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and the Government Operations Committee.

Most important, he is chairman of the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee of Government Operations, a post he has used to mount assaults on Administration foreign policy. Says a Senate dove who disagrees with Jackson: "Senators like John Tower, Barry Goldwater and Strom Thurmond, who hold a view of the world that is similar to Scoop's, have been at a loss to know how to cope with a self-styled Republican conservative in the White House who has undertaken to establish normal relations with the Soviet Union. Jackson has found the Achilles' heel in Nixon's foreign policy. He has opened fissures that have dealt very strong blows to that policy."

For all his tough talk, Jackson is as skilled at compromising an issue as at dramatizing it. Partisan of big defense that he is, he has worked behind the scenes to scale down Pentagon budget requests so that they would be acceptable to the Senate. Though he is adamant about maintaining U.S. forces in Europe, he joined Senator Sam Nunn in introducing an amendment to the Defense Appropriation Bill that would re-

## JEWS

# A Unique Burst of Giving

In Chicago a woman in her late 80s who lives in an old-age home contributed her entire savings of \$100. In New York City a nurse walked across the street to the United Jewish Appeal with a \$1,000 check from a patient who was waiting to be examined. In Paterson, N.J., a woman came into the U.J.A. office to say that although her husband had given, she was donating her engagement ring. In Miami 92-year-old Mayshie Friedberg spent 100 hours during the week selling bonds. In Portland, Ore., children went out into the streets to hawk buttons and bumper stickers proclaiming: LET ISRAEL LIVE! In Boston some 50 donors a day offered blood to the Red Cross, even though no plea had been made. Said Herb Seplis, bloodmobile coordinator: "There are rivers of blood if Israel needs them."

American Jews are giving as never before—their money, their blood and it may be, in some cases, their lives. No event since the Nazi holocaust has so shaken them, so convinced them that it is now or never for Israel, for Judaism, for themselves. "The Auschwitz theme is back again," says Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee. "The issue of Jewish



ARAB SUPPORTERS IN NEW YORK  
Issue of survival.

quire European nations to share the cost of the troop commitment; the amendment was passed. He and his staff are huddling with both the White House and Soviet diplomats to try to work out a compromise on the trade bill. "Scoop does not see things in black and white," says Richard Perle, a member of his staff. "His policy is usually to support an Administration's foreign policy initiatives, but to do so with reservations."

One of the obvious and highly purposeful contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976, Scoop maintains his liberal domestic credentials along with his hawkish foreign policy—a delicate balancing act. He reminds his critics that he was an early, ardent foe of Senator Joe McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee. By liberal standards, his voting record on labor and civil rights is flawless. Though he wrote the legislation permitting the Alaska pipeline, he is the only member of the Senate who has received the Sierra Club's John Muir award for his efforts on behalf of the environment. His own political conduct is punctilious; he does not indulge in inflammatory rhetoric or *ad hominem* attacks. "I hate emotion in anything," says Jackson, "even in religion. If you master the facts, then you can posture your-

self in such a way that you can persuade people of your point of view."

One man's facts, of course, can be another man's fiction. By imputing the worst motives to the Soviets, Jackson is not likely to be proved gullible or an easy mark. On the other hand, détente will not be achieved without taking some calculated risks on both sides. What U.S. diplomacy lacked before Kissinger was a certain creative imagination. Jackson's meat-ax approach threatens to cut off any new departures before they can be proved successful.

Obviously, U.S. foreign policy depends at least to an extent on where Jackson stands, and he insists that he does not stand in the way of peace. "I'm in favor of détente, but if there is to be true détente, there must be a movement of peoples and ideas across international frontiers—not just cargo. When I see tens of thousands of Russian tourists coming to the U.S. the way Americans now go to the Soviet Union, then I'll say there's some evidence of change." A tall order from a man as capable as anyone in the Senate of enforcing it. In the meantime, in the interests of détente, in the interest of his own presidential ambitions, Scoop may have to show that he is willing to settle for something less.

## THE MIDEAST WAR

survival is again at stake. You can't have Judaism without Jews. The war assumes a metaphysical importance beyond the importance of individual Jewish lives." Clifford A. Straus, who is organizing bond rallies in Miami, made the same point: "We're scared as a people. How many times can David beat Goliath?"

David is receiving Goliath-like contributions. Israel Bonds, which normally collects about \$25 million on Yom Kippur, doubled that figure this year. Since the outbreak of war, \$175 million has been pledged, of which \$100 million has already been given in cash. At a meeting last week between officials of Israel Bonds and Israel Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir, a goal of \$642 million was set for March 1974. The United Jewish Appeal announced a campaign to raise \$750 million for Israel; the U.J.A. of Greater New York collected \$25 mil-

lion, champion, Senator Henry Jackson. The Chicago Civic Center was jammed with 5,000 people who applauded an enraged Mayor Richard Daley: "Go ahead, Israelites. Be sure to remove every Arab from the soil of Israel." The same night, 70,000 showed up at temples and synagogues for a fund-raising effort that included an appearance by Senator Edmund Muskie.

Younger Jews are lining up to go to Israel, where they will fill in at kibbutzim to release Israelis for military service. So far, some 350 people between the ages of 18 and 30 have flown from New York to Israel on charters organized by Sherut La'am, a department of the World Zionist Organization. "We have literally thousands of calls," says Nahum Remen, who is handling volunteers in Boston. "Some of the older people who call give me hell when I tell

them: 'How can you equate a job or profession with the survival of the Jewish people and Israel?'" Discussion ended. Stuart Rosenberg dropped out of Indiana's Earlham College to return to the country where he spent a year studying. "My going over," he said, "doesn't really matter a drop in the bucket, but ultimately I have to answer to myself."

While most Jewish groups were soliciting direct aid to Israel, others tried to bring pressure on the U.S. Government. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee, a registered Jewish lobby, poured out a stream of appeals by mail, telegram and telephone. Jews were urged to contact their Senators and Congressmen to support prompt military and diplomatic aid to Israel. Committee Chairman Isaiah ("Si") Kenen, known as Israel's man on the Hill, called a meeting of some 30 Jew-



NEW YORKERS GATHERED AT CITY HALL TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR SUPPORT OF ISRAEL IN MIDDLE EAST WAR. A mood of grimness and determination over an issue of metaphysical importance.

lion in one 48-hour period in the first week of the war.

Donations are running way ahead of collections during the Six-Day War in 1967. "It took us less than ten days to exceed by far the figures of the 30-day campaign for the Six-Day War," says Gerald Schwartz, a Miami fund raiser. "When word of the war came we went around much like Paul Revere, from synagogue to synagogue. By nightfall of the first day, we had over \$1,000,000 in bond sales." In Chicago \$20 million in bonds has been sold, or nearly four times the amount received during the 1967 war. Says Bond Chairman Harry Zaidenberg: "The mood among Jews is one of grimness and determination."

Rallies, marches and meetings are being held everywhere. In Los Angeles, 2,000 people turned up at the Century Plaza to hear their favorite Gentile

them they can't go." Volunteers are carefully screened by psychologists and social workers to weed out drug users and cranks. "We want to make sure they are committed to the Jewish situation and social justice," says Naomi Seligman, a psychiatric social worker at Brooklyn Community Counseling Service. "We don't want them because they are adventurers, although that may be a factor in the motivation of many acceptable candidates. I'm very impressed with these kids. It's good to see that there is still idealism."

Parents who only yesterday were worried about their kids' boredom and indifference are now frantic about their commitment. Alan Weisberg, 21, president of the Jewish Student Union at Brooklyn College, was urged by his parents to stay home. What about school, law boards, the danger? Replied Weis-

berg, after which they urged Congress to pass a resolution accusing the Arabs of starting the war and demanding more military weapons to be shipped to Israel. To date, 67 Senators and 236 members of the House have agreed to co-sponsor such a resolution.

But lobbying was almost superfluous, considering the spontaneous outburst from the Jewish community. A Jewish leader in Washington had no trouble whipping up enthusiasm; on the contrary, he found he had to calm people down. "We had a delicate time last week," he admits. "People were getting hysterical. They were saying: 'The Russians are sending the Arabs everything they need. What in hell is this goddam Government doing?' I told New York not to get excited. I told them not to harass the Government. The help was coming. I sensed it."

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## How Deep Is the U.S. Commitment to Israel?

The Phantoms were rushed off to Israel without public debate, but in confidence that the American public would approve. In the emergency, presumably no political conditions were asked of Israel either: this was not the time. A month ago such American aid to Israel might have risked Arab displeasure, even some oil blackmail, but would have counted on a quick Israeli military triumph. But what if—not to pre-judge battles that have not yet been decided—Israel's situation were suddenly to take a turn for the worse, even become desperate? How deep then is the American commitment to Israel? Might the U.S., by sending Phantoms and missiles and other sophisticated weaponry, once again, so soon after Viet Nam, be starting down another slippery slope?

No treaties, such as the American NATO pledge to European partners that an attack on one is an attack on all, bind the U.S. to Israel's defense. The Israelis have not asked for one, in part out of their own self-confident, self-reliant distaste for alignment and dependence. The American tie to Israel, which is not to be found in formal treaties, surfaces more readily in presidential statements and the platforms of both political parties. American Jews are both articulate and influential, and their anxieties are deeply felt whenever Israel is in danger, but those ringing platform pledges were not written simply to appease them in defiance of a contrary mood among non-Jewish Americans. They too remember Hitler's holocaust and admire the tough independence of the Israeli people.

Aid to Israel differs from, more than it resembles the American involvement in Viet Nam. Democratic Israel is not a divided and apathetic people, authoritatively ruled, reluctant to fight its own battles. It does not ask for American soldiers. It is not quite an ally; in some respects it is a client, but it is in no sense a puppet of the U.S.

Yet another vital difference between supporting Israel and supporting Viet Nam must be acknowledged. Unlike Viet Nam, whose geographical relationship to the superpowers was peripheral, the Middle East is a critical area of contention. Prolonged active warfare between two sides, each supplied by a great power, could easily involve the great powers themselves in war. Supplying Israel with weaponry in measured response to Russian resupply of the Arabs may be an essential interim step to ensure Israel's survival, but it is not in the American interest to underwrite blindly Israel's own notion of sufficient victory or readiness to settle. The latent dangers in protracted fighting would quickly become evident to Americans if the Israelis at some point were to say that they are not only short of Phantoms but of trained pilots to man them. Would the U.S. then provide "volunteers"? The Pentagon's present answer to such future worries is: equipment yes, men no. Already Congressmen are warning against any commitment of troops. "Worst-case scenarios" are often an inhibiting guide in policy shaping, but they do suggest the vital American interest in peacemaking.

Historians will long argue whether a real chance for peace existed after Israel's victory in the Six-Day War. Perhaps the Arabs were too beaten and humiliated to negotiate. In any case, the Israeli offers of "generous" terms and the return of most of the conquered Arab lands gradually turned to a popular satisfaction in Israel with the extended space that the nation now had to breathe in, beyond the reach of Arab guns. Plenty of room and a strong arm, always at the ready, became the Israeli formula for survival, and anything else—U.N. resolutions, roving ambassadors, third-party mediations, Arab proposals—was politely listened to, but in the end rejected as false security. Against Arab hate and Soviet arms, Israelis were scornful of promises and leary of guarantees; by their own strength they had survived, and would survive.

Though the U.S. is the best friend the Israelis have, and

President Nixon is steadfast in their support, the U.S. Government has never agreed with the hardening Israeli line on territorial expansion as its only and surest protection. A month before the fighting broke out, Nixon acknowledged that "both sides are at fault" for the failure of a peace settlement in the Middle East. Israel, though dismissing the U.N. and often caustic about the validity of world opinion, is not indifferent to the reactions of others, particularly in the U.S. The proof is its decision deliberately to await an Arab attack rather than to strike pre-emptively.

As the battle rages distantly and violently on both sides of the canal, anyone who questions Israel's wisdom in having hung onto the vast uninhabited buffer space that it seized in the Sinai apparently cannot now get much of a hearing in the streets of Tel Aviv. The answer that will not be listened to is really a question: Would the fourth round of fighting have come so soon, and would it have been fought with such Arab tenacity, had not the Egyptians felt a just grievance at the loss of their lands east of Suez, and believed that what was held by the sword could only be freed by the sword?

Intransigence is not an Israeli monopoly, nor reasonableness a dominant trait in Arab policy. So interwoven are the rights and wrongs of the Arab and Israeli cases, so conflicting their claims to a twice-Promised Land, so much death and grief and hurt a part of existence to both peoples, so real their fears and so inescapable their hostility, that outsiders who arrive there to talk of evenhandedness, fair-mindedness and rational solutions find themselves instantly suspect for their naiveté. The most egregious assumption that outsiders make is that their detachment gives them superior wisdom. In fact, the intractable problems of the Middle East have been endlessly considered and eloquently argued on both sides. In candid private moments, Israeli leaders can discuss Arab rights and needs with sympathy and understanding. On the Arab side, Hussein has acted with courageous prudence, Feisal with caution, and Sadat has proved a more subtle and rational strategist than Nasser. On almost every major issue, solutions that could be made palatable to both sides have long been canvassed—a demilitarized Sinai and a demilitarized West Bank that would protect Israel without its occupying Arab lands; territorial adjustments in the Golan Heights, juridical solutions to the problem of Jerusalem; compensation and compromises on the Palestinian Arab refugees; face-saving devices so that the two sides could meet together. Most of these points were talked out in Secretary of State Rogers' futile journeys around the Middle East. But at no time have both sides simultaneously felt the same necessity to settle, and the final dismissing phrase to outside mediators was an objection to "imposed" solutions. The logic of such attitudes was that a new bloodletting was necessary before a new equilibrium could be ratified.

Wars are rarely that obliging, and may produce instead of a new equilibrium only exhausted winners and losers and no change of heart. But this time necessity may impose solutions. The Arabs, even if ultimately defeated, have already restored their pride. The Israelis, even if again victorious, might take counsel of the loss of so many men and ask whether they can safely commit their future to a succession of "rounds" of fighting. The U.S., in helping Israel with Phantoms, is taking risks and acquiring rights and interests of its own, including a say in the timing of a cease-fire and a commitment to a settlement. A more active American and Soviet presence in the Middle East is a mixed blessing to all concerned, the U.S. included, but it makes possible for the first time a network of big-power agreements and internationally policed borders that could guarantee, in any settlement that the Arabs and Israel themselves work out, the peace that Israel has never found by its own arms alone.

■ Thomas Griffith



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## THAILAND

# A One-Day Revolution Topples a Dictator

*For decades the students of Thailand had been among the world's most serene somnambulist. Docile and short-haired, they eschewed politics and activism in favor of a romantic tradition revering king and country. True, they had shown signs of stirring last December when they called a protest meeting against Japan's heavy involvement in Thailand's economy. To no one's surprise, the meeting fizzled. The reason, Thais joked, was that they had boycotted Japanese goods and could not get to the rallying point because so many of Bangkok's buses are Japanese-made.*

*No one is joking now. In one bloody day last week, the students toppled one of the toughest military cliques that have ruled the country since World War II. In the fighting, some 125 students were killed and at least 850 wounded.*

*TIME Correspondent Barry Hillenbrand, who was in Bangkok at the time of the revolt, sent this report:*

The military dictatorship of Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn, 62, was inefficient, authoritarian and beset with economic problems. There was wide discontent because of the rising cost of rice and Thanom's police-state methods. The revolt that abruptly brought down his regime started when university students in Bangkok issued a list of mild demands that seemed to have goals more appropriate to Disraeli than Mao: a new constitution (the old one had been arbitrarily scrapped by the military government in 1971) and free elections. To the government, however, the demands amounted to near sedition. Twelve student demonstrators and professors were arrested and

charged with "instigating public unrest and trying to overthrow the present government."

To the government's surprise, the students fought back. They flocked into Bangkok from all over Thailand. Huge protest rallies were held at the capital's prestigious Thammasat University demanding release of the prisoners and immediate adoption of a new constitution. To placate the students, the government began to backpedal on the constitution, announcing that a new one would be drawn up in three years, then 20 months, and finally, twelve months. The prisoners were ordered released on bail, but refused to leave until the constitutional issue was settled. They had to be evicted bodily from jail.

By last week the number of students flooding into Bangkok had swelled to several hundred thousand. They gath-

ered in front of the Parliament building where police attacked them with tear gas, and the riot was on. Vehicles and government buildings were burned, including the offices of Thanom's son, Colonel Narong Kittikachorn, who was suspected by many students of maneuvering to be Thailand's next Prime Minister. I watched the modern office building that houses the national lottery being put to the torch. Explained one student: "It's good that we burn the lottery, because it only robs the poor people and makes the generals more rich."

Troops and tanks soon swept into



ALICIA KNIGHT



Students flash victory sign (top left) and Buddhist monks file past charred van. Students evacuate wounded comrade (below) as national-lottery building burns.



TOM BETH







PRIME MINISTER SANYA\*

the streets, firing M-16 rifles and machine guns at rock-throwing students. Hundreds were hit. Small white Volkswagen ambulances, their sides streaked with blood, screamed back and forth, loaded with wounded. One VW pulled up to a group of students, and the driver asked for blood donations. So many volunteered that a girl who was unable to get aboard looked as distressed as if she had just failed an important exam.

A helicopter circled over the ram-paging students and dropped batches of leaflets, which were carried into the flames of the burning lottery building. Minutes later, the troops began to retreat. The tanks, their heavy treads chewing up the soft asphalt, followed, firing .30-cal. machine guns in a final act of defiance—and wounding more students.

Then word flashed through the crowd that Prime Minister Thanom had offered his resignation to King Bhumibol Adulyadej. On Thai television a little more than an hour later, the nation watched a tired but composed King announce that the government had resigned. Sanya Dharmaskiti, 66, the scholarly, British-educated rector of Thammasat University, was named Prime Minister of a caretaker government.

The King, though relatively powerless, has great prestige with the people. With the support of key military officers, he used the revolt as a lever to pry the unpopular Thanom from office. The students clearly had won a stunning victory. Cheering and pounding on the sides of commandeered buses, they sped through Bangkok waving Thai flags and holding up portraits of the King.

The celebrations proved to be short-lived. A group of students, ignoring monitors who tried to keep them away, charged the headquarters of the metropolitan police. They were driven back by intense automatic-weapons fire. The students then began a strange siege. They simply put a watch on the building while police with rifles attempted to pick off those few who moved around on the debris-littered streets.

\*In the uniform of the Thai civil service.

I huddled with three students behind a metal kiosk. Suddenly, a student dashed across the intersection and hurled a rock at a glaring mercury street lamp. A policeman fired a round at him; the bullet ripped through the kiosk and into the shoulder of the student to my left. Groaning, he slumped over in the arms of his friend, blood oozing through his deserted white shirt.

**Deserted Streets.** The next day an eerie calm settled over Bangkok, a city whose traffic is worse than that of Los Angeles. The streets were practically deserted except for the hulks of burned-out vehicles. Students directed what traffic there was and then dutifully began clearing up the debris.

Prime Minister Sanya moved swiftly to restore order. He announced a new Cabinet made up mainly of civilians, many of whom had served in lesser posts in earlier governments. He said that a new constitution will be drawn up in six months and elections held soon after. But though he has the students' support, Sanya still faces an array of problems. The most serious one is the Thai military, which has sufficient strength for a counter-coup if its officers become disenchanted with Sanya's civilian rule. For the moment, however, the military seemed content to side with the King and give civilian rule a chance.

Observers confidently expect to see major changes in Thailand's foreign relations, regardless of who eventually runs the country. Thais have traditionally sided with the nation that exerted the greatest influence in the region. During World War II, they first supported the Japanese, then the Allies. Now, with the U.S. in the process of reducing its military presence in Southeast Asia, the pragmatic Thais are expected to seek more cordial relations with China.

## AWARDS

### "But There Is No Peace"

With a total of 47 Nobel peace prize nominees, including such divergent figures as Yugoslavian President Josip Broz Tito, Richard Nixon and Viet Nam War Critic Daniel Ellsberg, any decision was bound to be controversial. But the selection last week of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and North Vietnamese Chief Negotiator Le Duc Tho for their efforts in attaining a cease-fire in Viet Nam aroused an unprecedented storm of criticism.

Only at the White House was the announcement greeted with unguarded praise. Kissinger was unabashedly delighted; President Nixon, who might have hoped to win it himself, said that the award gave "deserved recognition to the art of negotiation itself in the process of ending a war and laying the groundwork for peace." Hanoi, however, was resoundingly silent, lending substance to rumors that Tho would not accept the prize.

Officially, the selection was, as always, unanimous among the Nobel committee's five members. But this year the committee, crippled by insoluble differences of opinion, made the award with only three of the five members favoring the Kissinger-Tho combination.\*

Disapproval of the peace award far outweighed praise for it. Norwegians complained that "there is no peace." In Italy, Giorgio La Pira, a prominent left-wing Catholic intellectual, said that the award made sense from a pragmatic point of view. West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, the 1971 peace-prize recipient, sent off congratulatory telegrams to both Kissinger and Tho, but the West German press claimed that the prize had been "degraded," wondering sarcastically if it might go next year to Anwar Sadat and Golda Meir.

The New York Times ruefully labeled the award the "Nobel war prize," while former Ambassador Edwin O. Reichauer, now a Harvard professor, said: "The fighting in Indochina will go on. Theirs was not a great achievement." Paris' prestigious *Le Monde* termed it a "masquerade," pointing out that Tho had spent his life committed to violent wars of liberation and that Kissinger was part of the American policy that reached its most unpeaceful moment in the Christmas bombing of Hanoi last year. In Saigon, a government spokesman was pleased enough with Kissinger, but he likened the selection of Tho to "nominating a whore as honorary chairman of the P.T.A."

Despite the controversy, the fact remains that Kissinger and Tho had indeed concluded a difficult and complex agreement that effectively removed American troops from combat. Whether or not the agreement will lead to peace is uncertain, but the strenuous efforts of Kissinger and Tho in Paris were at the very least a move in the right direction.

\*No such problems beset the judges awarding the prizes for economics and literature, which went to Harvard's Wassily Leontief, 67 (see *ECONOMY & BUSINESS*), and Australian Patrick White, 61, whose sensitive, lonely novels are set against the vast open spaces of his homeland.



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## The General Explains

More than five weeks have passed since the government of Marxist President Salvador Allende Gossens was overthrown by Chile's military junta. Yet the bloodletting goes on. Last week 21 more Chileans were slain, 15 by firing squads and six in a battle with soldiers.

Three jurists, members of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, stopped in New York en route to Geneva last week with an account of widespread killings in Chile. "Every day, until the eve of the departure of the commission," said a group statement, "corpses were pulled out of the Mapocho River [which runs through Santiago] or brought in great quantities to the morgue, or left to decompose in the places where they were executed, as if to reinforce the effect of the terror." The jurists did not report on the number of persons slain since the Sept. 11 coup; an estimate based on official figures puts the toll at 588, but observers estimate it much higher, probably more than 1,000. In its economic policy, the junta was moving to restore free enterprise. Junta leader General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte announced that more than 300 foreign and Chilean companies taken over without compensation by the Allende regime would probably be returned to their owners. The companies include around 40 U.S. firms—but not the three large American copper companies of Kennecott, Anaconda and Cerro Corp. Combined assets for the copper firms is more than \$500 million, and Pinochet said that his government was ready to negotiate compensation for them.

**Murder Plot.** To defend the junta's harsh rule, Air Force General Gustavo Leigh Guzmán granted a lengthy interview to TIME's Benjamin Cate and Rudolph Rauch in his suburban Santiago home. Leigh, 53, the most articulate of the junta's four members, showed Cate and Rauch a Soviet-made automatic rifle that, he said, was part of a leftist cache of weapons. The weapons were smuggled into Chile, presumably for use in "Plan Zeta," a supposed plot to murder top military leaders and rightists. The military did not learn of Plan Zeta's details, said Leigh, until after the coup, when the document was found in a safe in the presidential palace. Nonetheless, military intelligence had got wind of the general outlines of the plan by monitoring telephone calls into the palace. "We started thinking," recalled Leigh, "what does Zeta mean? We thought it would be dangerous for the security of the country. But we were worried by a lot of other more important things. Allende was cheating us, cheating the Chilean people. The country was paralyzed—industry, transport, everything."

The spark for action came, said Leigh, on Sept. 9, when Socialist Party Secretary-General Carlos Altamirano

admitted during a radio speech that he had urged sailors to disobey military orders. Leigh said he immediately contacted General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, the army chief of staff, now the junta leader, and told him: "I can't resist one bit more. This country is going to disaster. The only thing I ask of you is, don't shoot at my troops, don't shoot at my planes, don't fire on my bases." Pinochet's answer was a surprise. He said: "Gustavo, you are not going alone. I will go with you; the navy too."

The decision to launch a coup was not an easy one, claimed Leigh, since the military had generally remained outside Chilean politics for the past 41 years. "I tell you, we sweated a lot," he said. "It was like childbirth." The speed with which Allende's government was crushed surprised even the military. "Never did we think we would rule the country so soon," Leigh admitted. "We were not prepared. Now we are in a real emergency. We have no agriculture. We are spending \$600 million for food alone. We have a \$4 billion debt."

**No Compromises.** Chile also has one of the world's highest rates of inflation, more than 300% for 1973. To bring the spiraling economy under control, the junta has devalued by more than half the wildly inflated escudo, and ordered huge price increases for such necessities as sugar (400%) and cooking oil (500%), which had been subsidized at prices far below their market value. It canceled the inflationary (300%) wage increase in minimum salaries approved by Allende, but instituted a system of bonuses and benefits that has increased the minimum income to \$42 a month.

"We are not promising any easy solutions," said Leigh. "We are not saying that now the nightmare is over. We have to work hard. We will do what the politicians in the past 50 years in this country did not do. We want to reconstruct the country with our own resources, our own effort. We have made no compromises with anyone. We have our

hands clean to operate. We are not politicians and we are not trying to be."

Leigh defended the appointment of military delegates to control Chile's universities, saying that the schools had become "political factories. They didn't care one bit about studies. If they try to get involved in politics or with politicians, we'll close them down. They'll stay closed until they decide to study."

Leigh hotly denied that the junta was embarked on a campaign of terror. "We have not executed anyone who is just a politician. We have executed people who have planned assassinations or who fired against the soldiers after the coup. There have been no executions of those who were arrested or detained for whatever reason other than armed resistance." As for the thousands of political prisoners, Leigh said that "right now we just want to keep them out of contact with the rest of the people. Lat-

SHWIL & PRESTICE



LEIGH WITH SOVIET-MADE RIFLE



## THE WORLD

er they will have to go before the military court and it will have to decide what to do to them. I don't know what charges can be made against these people. Many of them, I think, will have to be freed."

Leigh, like the other members of the junta, insists that the military's plans for Chile are basically democratic. "We are not fascists," he said heatedly. "We are not Nazis." A commission has already been formed to write a new constitution, he said. "We want a constitution just for Chileans. We want to build up a constitution that would give us safeguards against the control of Marxists." Asked when Chile would return to representative government, Leigh replied: "I think a decade is too long. But I'm not sure we could do it in five years. We do not want to rule this country forever. But we feel that if we pay this amount of blood, we want to leave to our descendants and to all the Chileans a country which is free and democratic and with the participation of all the people."

## GREAT BRITAIN

### The Struthonian Country

An English burglar recently broke into a games manufacturing company and stole a fortune—in fake Monopoly money. The crook's confusion is not as funny as it sounds. So serious is Britain's continuing inflation that the current gibe by critics is that Monopoly pounds may soon be worth as much as the real thing.

Inspired by the early success of U.S. controls, Edward Heath's Conservative government has imposed a variety of price restraints. Even so, food prices have gone up 7.2% since January, and consumer prices as a whole 4.3%. The inflation rate is still 9% per year. To slow it, Heath this month announced his Phase III—to a national chorus of "Let's-wait-and-see" doubts. Sometimes indeed it seems as if the whole country is suffering from what Author Arthur Koestler calls the "Struthonian Effect"—or the Ostrich Syndrome.\*

Inflation, caused at least in part by the worldwide rise in commodity prices, is only one of Heath's problems. Projections show that if the economy does not pick up, Britain, which started off the '60s as one of the richer countries in Europe, within a decade or so may be competing with Portugal and Spain for last place in terms of per capita wealth. In the past decade, Britain's gross national product has risen more slowly than any other European nation's, and the country has had the lowest growth in such consumer goods as cars, telephones and television sets.

Britain's wage costs have risen faster than those of any other major industrial country in the world during the past three years. In a recent speech Victor

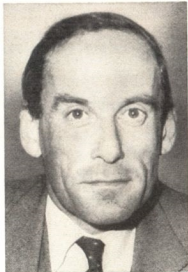
\*Koestler derives struthonian from *struthio*, Latin for ostrich.



LABOR LEADER HAROLD WILSON  
Difficulties as severe . . .

Lord Rothschild, head of the government's think tank, the Central Policy Review Staff, declared: "In 1985, we shall have half the economic weight of France or Germany. Our difficulties and dangers are as severe and ominous as they were in World War II, though, of course, of a different sort."

Heath's solution has been to push Britain into the Common Market—a step he accomplished last January—and give a hearty shove to industrial expansion with subsidies and tax incentives. Though he now claims that "the results are beginning to show," all that his opponents can see is inflation and the huge Common Market trucks that now lumber along sleepy English roads. So big are the Continental juggernauts that ancient English villages are literally being



LIBERAL LEADER JEREMY THORPE  
. . . as those of World War II.

shaken to their foundations. Instead of decreasing, as everyone expected, popular opposition to the Common Market has grown into a clear majority.

Ever quick to seize on the popular issue, ex-Prime Minister Harold Wilson recently promised the Labor Party Conference that if he became Prime Minister again, he would renegotiate Britain's contract with the Common Market—as if the other members would actually let him. In one of the worst puns of the year, Wilson said that the fanfare of Britain's entry into the market was now drowned out "by the strains of Pimpou and circumstance." The Labor Party's own solution to Britain's problems: what Wilson proudly calls the "most radical" program of nationalization of land and industry since the post-war government of Clement Attlee. The new nationalization would include land for industrial and residential development, the trucking industry, shipbuilders, parts of the drug, machine-tool and construction industries, as well as the new North Sea oil and gas development. Although the new Labor platform is popular with the rank and file, it is clearly the fuzziest scheme for economic change since George McGovern's 1972 welfare program. Roy Jenkins, Wilson's former Chancellor of the Exchequer, expressed doubt about the plan. "It is no good taking over a vast number of industries without knowing how or by whom they will be run," he said. "Let us promise no more than we can do."

**Loveable Bloke.** The polls show that British voters are dissatisfied with both parties. In the past year, the tiny Liberal Party, led by the effervescent Jeremy Thorpe, has won four out of eight by-elections. Most voters may not know what the Liberals would do to solve their problems, but they seem to prefer untried faces to the old ones that have failed. In Parliament the Conservatives now have 322 seats, Labor 287, and the Liberals 10. Popularity polls, however, now show the three parties with about one-third each. There is a real possibility of an even three-way split in the next general election, within the next 18 months. That would give Britain its first minority government since 1929. "There is a chance, just a slim chance that Labor might manage to sneak back to power on the shoulders of those who think it is somehow safe to vote Liberal," warns Lord Carrington, the Tory chairman. "The fact is that a vote for the Liberal Party is the next worst thing to a vote for Harold Wilson."

Britain's real economic problem may not be its politicians but its lazy and inefficient workers and managers. Many Britons apparently do not care if their country is half as rich as France or Germany—as long as they do not have to work as hard as Frenchmen or Germans. Says Koestler: "The same loveable bloke who risked his life on D-day to keep the country free would not lift a finger at the Ford plant at Dagenham to put the country back on its feet."

# THE RONRICO HANDBOOK OF GOOD SPECTATORSHIP

How to look good and enjoy yourself whether you like what you're looking at or not.

Face it. Sidelineing isn't a simple sport anyway you look at it.

On the other hand, having the right sideline whether you're sitting on the right or the wrong one can make the whole thing a lot easier.

3. A stillness steals over the auditorium. You pop a few Cracklers in your mouth and bear down.
  4. The first ten rows turn around.
  5. Emcee trips over mike cord.
  6. Your wife cringes.
- Victory.



Picture this one. You, a recognized football freak, find yourself in Atlantic City watching that irrepressible emcee serenade the new Most Gorgeous Girl in the World the same day you're supposed to be in South Bend on the 50 yard line.

You've got a choice. You can Accommodate or you can Rebel. Let's talk about Rebellion first. (It's more fun.)

## The Noisy Snack Approach.

A diverting tactic wherever you sit. The idea involves the right timing and the right ammo.

1. There they are—the 3 Finalists in their tank suits, heels and smiles.
2. The emcee accepts the envelope from the judges with an earnest wink.

## Cracklers

- 1 lb. peanuts
  - 1 large jar bacon rinds
  - ½ tsp. chili powder
  - ½ tsp. garlic powder
  - 2 quarts mixed crunchy cereals
- Combine various dry cereals: bite-size types, oat rings, etc.—the crispies and crunchies that have body. Mix well with peanuts, bacon rind, chili powder, garlic powder. Dot with butter. Toast at 300°-325° for 45 minutes to an hour. Salt to taste. This highly portable snack can be made in bulk, stored in jars and stretched over an entire football, basketball or TV season.

## What to drink while watching what.

What you watch is your own business but what you *drink* while watching is a vital, often-neglected branch of the social graces.

It's a question of appropriateness, balance, vibes and all that.

Take TV, for instance, (and rum drinks, just to narrow the field a bit).

## The Correct TV Drink/Watchers Table Fair & Warmer

*Considered tactless when served during 3-day rain forecasts; fine for moon shots, America's Cup races, etc.*

## Zombie

*Never watch a horror show with one; distractingly delicious with comedy hours.*

## Honeysuckle

*Monotonous with ecology programs; scintillating with urban renewal reviews.*

## Platinum Blonde

*Highly acceptable for any kind of watching.*

## 1. Fair & Warmer

- ½ ounce sweet Vermouth
  - 2 ounces Ronrico White Label Rum
  - 3 dashes Leroux Curaçao
- Stir well with ice, strain into glasses and serve with lemon twists.

## 2. Zombie

- 1½ ounces Ronrico White
  - 1½ ounces Ronrico Gold
  - 2 ounces pineapple juice
  - Juice of 1 lime
  - 1 tsp. powdered sugar
- Shake liquid ingredients well with ice. Sprinkle with powdered sugar.

## 3. Honeysuckle

- 1 tbs. honey
  - Juice of ½ lime
  - 1 ounce Ronrico Gold
- Shake well with ice and serve.

## 4. Platinum Blonde

- 1 ounce cream
  - 1 ounce Ronrico White
  - 1 ounce Leroux Triple Sec
- Shake well with ice and strain into glasses.

Now if you think these little cuties sound self-serving and you find yourself with a whole host of guests, just triple our recipes (for a full pitcher of our good intentions).

## Sidewalk watching.

It's that special school of watching in which you try to seem as if you're watching sidewalks while you're actually watching what's walking on them instead.

This ancient art, which has been widely credited as the original inspiration for the sidewalk itself, is best in small street cafes on busy thoroughfares during light drizzles.

The following list of basic props is recommended for best results:



## French newspaper

*To look as if you're reading; to read (if you can) during lulls; or to serve as romantic umbrella-for-two later on.*

## Interesting hat

*Beret, skimmer, bowler — depending on mood of moment. (Porkpies are frowned upon.)*

## Interesting drink

*Any from this column will do nicely if flamboyantly garnished with mint or outlandishly served in pineapple.*

## Sunglasses

*Mirrored preferably (in case she's vain).*

You look just swell. Your chances of not attracting attention are practically zero. And even if Miss Right doesn't happen to stroll by your first time out, you'll probably land the Mystery Guest spot on a panel show.

Anyway, here's looking at you.



**Ronrico**  
The bright taste in rum.

General Wine & Spirits Co., NYC, 80 proof.





**Hear them as they**

*Jitterbugging to the swinging music of Harry James in 1943*

TIME-LIFE RECORDS presents instrumental and vocal hits of

# The Swing Era

re-created in the original arrangements and recorded in today's advanced-technology stereo

There's never been anything quite like it in America's musical history—the great music from the era when Swing was king... Glenn Miller's hypnotically rhythmic "Tuxedo Junction"... the jabbing brass and lilting clarinet of Benny Goodman's "Let's Dance"... Harry James' trumpet wailing "You Made Me Love You"... the seductive clarinet solo of Artie Shaw's "Begin the Beguine"... and so many more.

And now you can enjoy this wonderful kind of music—the spine-tingling big band sounds, the foot-tapping tempos, the dreamy songs from the ballrooms and bandstands—as they sounded "in person" when Swing reigned supreme. Because now, TIME-LIFE RECORDS offers you THE SWING ERA—a whole gigantic 15-album collection of top instrumental and vocal hits played in the arrangements that made them famous. Not in scratchy old monaural or artificial stereo reproductions, but in the most authentic re-creations ever. Here's how it was done:

First, we called a reunion of some of the finest swing musicians in the country... top men who actually played with the big bands. Then we called on two talented swing-era professionals, Billy May and Larry Wagner, to reconstruct the famous original arrangements; instrument by instrument and note by note. Finally, using 16 separate microphones to record on 16

tracks, we brought this fabulous music to life in advanced-technology stereo (records can be played on mono as well as stereo equipment). The result is so faithful to the actual sound of Swing, you'll swear you were there in person...

... Back in the 30's hearing the Dorsey Brothers' version of "St. Louis Blues," or the Duke Ellington version of "Caravan." In the 40's, hearing the Artie Shaw version of "Dancing in the Dark," or the Tommy Dorsey version of "Opus One." In the 50's, hearing the Count Basie version of "April in Paris," or the Buddy Morrow version of "Night Train." Or right up into the 70's with a special album of famous Benny Goodman hits—played "live" by the master himself.

Each of the 15 albums in the series includes three LP stereo records, and a companion 64-page hardbound book. The perfect accompaniment to the records, the books take you on a delightful word-and-picture journey through a host of happy memories from the swing era.

To acquaint you with this wonderful series, we invite you to audition free for 10 days the album on *The Music of 1940-1941*. Be our guest as you enjoy the Glenn Miller version of "In the Mood"... the Woody Herman version of "Blues on Parade"... and 28 other great hits. Then decide if you want to keep the album. You may do so for only \$13.95 (\$14.95 in Canada) plus shipping and handling, or you may return it within 10 days with no further obligation. If you keep it, we will send you other albums in the series as described on the reply card. But there is no obligation for you to buy any of these albums and you may cancel your subscription any time. Mail card now.

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free for 10 days**



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sounded "in person" then...

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SOPHISTICATED LADY/Duke Ellington version • MUSKRAT RAMBLE/Bob Crosby version • ST. LOUIS BLUES/Dorsey Brothers version • KING PORTER STOMP/Benny Goodman version • MAHOGANY HALL STOMP/Louis Armstrong version • BLUE LOU/Fletcher Henderson version • ROSETTA/Earl Hines version • BLUE SKIES/Benny Goodman version • RHYTHM IS OUR BUSINESS/Jimmie Lunceford version

AND MANY MORE

## The Swing Era

The Music of 1936-1937

MARIE/Tommy Dorsey version • ONE O'CLOCK JUMP/Count Basie version • MOTEN SWING/Andy Kirk version • STOMPIN' AT THE SAVOY/Benny Goodman version • REMEMBER/Red Norvo version • CARAVAN/Duke Ellington version • MY BLUE HEAVEN/Jimmie Lunceford version • PRISONER'S SONG/Bunny Berigan version • SONG OF INDIA/Tommy Dorsey version • CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS/Fletcher Henderson version

AND MANY MORE

## The Swing Era

The Music of 1937-1938

DON'T BE THAT WAY/Benny Goodman version • SUMMERTIME/Bob Crosby version • JOHN'S IDEA/Count Basie version • LIZA/Chick Webb version • BACK BAY SHUFFLE/Artie Shaw version • SMOKE RINGS/Glen Gray version • POW-ERHOUSE/Raymond Scott version • BOOGIE WOOGIE/Tommy Dorsey version • SOUTH RAMPART STREET PARADE/Bob Crosby version • I CAN'T GET STARTED/Bunny Berigan version

AND MANY MORE

## The Swing Era

The Music of 1939-1939

BEGIN THE BEGUINE/Artie Shaw version • MY REVERIE/Larry Clinton version • UNDECIDED/John Kirby version • WOODCHOPPER'S BALL/Woody Herman version • JUMPIN' AT THE WOODSIDE/Count Basie version • MEMORIES OF YOU/Glen Gray version • BIG NOISE FROM WINNETKA/Haggart-Bauduc version • JOHN SILVER/Jimmy Dorsey version • AND THE ANGELS SING/Benny Goodman version

AND MANY MORE

## The Swing Era

The Music of 1939-1940

PENNSYLVANIA 6-5000/Glenn Miller version • NO NAME JIVE/Glen Gray version • JACK THE BEAR/Duke Ellington version • AIN'T SHE SWEET/Jimmie Lunceford version • AFTER HOURS/Erskine Hawkins version • SHORTY GEORGE/Count Basie version • G. T. STOMP/Earl Hines version • HONEY SUCKLE ROSE/Benny Goodman version • ALL THE THINGS YOU ARE/Artie Shaw version • CONCERTO FOR TRUMPET/Harry James version

AND MANY MORE

## The Swing Era

The Music of 1941-1942

FLYING HOME/Lionel Hampton version • JERSEY BOUNCE/Benny Goodman version • I CRIED FOR YOU/Harry James version • GOLDEN WEDDING/Woody Herman version • CHATTANOOGA CHOO CHOO/Glenn Miller version • AUTUMN NOCTURNE/Claude Thornhill version • PERDIDO/Duke Ellington version • CONTRASTS/Jimmy Dorsey version • DANCING IN THE DARK/Artie Shaw version • BASIE BOOGIE/Count Basie version

AND MANY MORE

## The Swing Era

The Music of 1942-1944

ON THE ALAMO/Tommy Dorsey version • CLARINET A LA KING/Benny Goodman version • ROCKIN' CHAIR/Gene Krupa version • STRAIGHTEN UP AND FLY RIGHT/Nat King Cole version • AFTER YOU'VE GONE/Gene Krupa version • I'VE GOT A GAL IN KALAMAZOO/Glenn Miller version • SLEEPY LAGOON/Harry James version • BLUES IN THE NIGHT/Jimmie Lunceford version • THE EARL/Benny Goodman version

AND MANY MORE

## The Swing Era

The Music of 1944-1945

OPUS ONE/Tommy Dorsey version • SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY/Les Brown version • SWEET LORRAINE/Nat King Cole version • EAGER BEAVER/Stan Kenton version • BEGIN THE BEGUINE/Eddie Heywood version • APPLE HONEY/Woody Herman version • POINCIANA/Benny Carter version • TAMPICO/Stan Kenton version • ON THE SUNNY SIDE OF THE STREET/Tommy Dorsey version • IT'S ONLY A PAPER MOON/Nat King Cole version

AND MANY MORE

## The Swing Era

Music of the Postwar Years

CHICAGO/Tommy Dorsey version • SEPTEMBER SONG/Harry James version • MIDNIGHT SUN/Lionel Hampton version • TENDERLY/Randy Brooks version • RACHEL'S DREAM/Benny Goodman version • ARTISTRY IN RHYTHM/Stan Kenton version • LOVER/Gene Krupa version • ROUTE 66/Nat King Cole version • I'VE GOT MY LOVE TO KEEP/Me Warm/Les Brown version • AUTUMN SERENADE/Harry James version

AND MANY MORE

## The Swing Era

Into the '50s

SATIN DOLL/Duke Ellington version • APRIL IN PARIS/Count Basie version • EARLY AUTUMN/Woody Herman version • SO RARE/Jimmy Dorsey version • ST. LOUIS BLUES MARCH/Glenn Miller version • FOUR BROTHERS/Woody Herman version • LEAN BABY/Billy May version • ARTISTRY JUMPS/Stan Kenton version • ACROSS THE ALLEY FROM THE ALAMO/Stan Kenton version • NIGHT TRAIN/Buddy Morrow version

AND MANY MORE

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Taste Canada's smoothest whisky. You may never go back to your usual whisky. Windsor is the only Canadian made with hardy Western Canadian grain; water from glacier-fed springs and aged in the clear dry air of the Canadian Rockies.



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Your friends will enjoy the distinctive difference Windsor Canadian makes in their favorite whisky drinks.



The Windsor Guardsman:  
A suitable symbol for the  
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## PEOPLE

Where are Girl-Next-Door **June Allyson**, Novelist **Nelson Algren**, Psychologist **Erich Fromm**, Automation Millionaire **John Diebold**, Folk Singer **Burl Ives** and Mr. America himself, **Bert Parks**? Scrubbed out of the 1973 *Celebrity Register*, for one thing. Instead, publicity's decennial *Almanach de Gotha* includes for the first time Rapist **Eldridge Cleaver**, Lesbian **Jill Johnston**, Red Black **Angela Davis**, Existentialist **Jean-Paul Sartre**, and Senator **Thomas Eagleton**. For readers anxious to achieve such status, Microsociologist **Cleveland Amory**, in a foreword to the new edition, passes on some advice. The way to become a celebrity, said **Aristotle Onassis**, who ought to know, "is to get to control the people's playthings. The moment I bought Monte Carlo and controlled the most famous casino in the world, I became one of the most famous men in the world." Still, the chips that Onassis had been counting for ten years did not add up to a place in the 1963 *Celebrity Register*. Never mind. In the 1973 edition Ari rates half a column, only 28 lines fewer than the playmate who put him there: the former **Jacqueline Kennedy**.

When he is not cruising around with President **Richard Nixon** in his boat, Bachelor **Bebe Rebozo**, 60, has been dallying with Jane Lucke, secretary of his Miami lawyer. A divorcee, Mrs. Lucke lives with her mother and two sons, who sometimes come along on her dates. Interviewed by Vera Glaser and Malvina Stephenson of the syndicated "Offbeat Washington" column, Lucke described her beau as "not a recluse" but sensitive to press jabs. Apparently Rebozo was displeased when another Nixon friend, Businessman **Robert Abplanalp**, when asked what he planned to do with his property next to the President's \$6.1 million San Clemente hacienda, twitted the press: "I'm going to build a ten-story whorehouse on it."

Japan's Imperial Household Agency, which keeps a little list of royal dos and don'ts, was aghast. As her parents, Crown Prince **Akihito**, 39, and Princess **Michiko**, 39, left Tokyo's Togu Palace for a ten-day official tour of Spain, their daughter, **Nori**, 4, planted on her mother's cheek the first public Imperial kiss. While the royal family does occasionally come out from behind its chrysanthemum curtain—**Empress Nagako** was recently permitted to exhibit her watercolors—such decadent occidentalism as kissing in public was unprecedented. However, it proved catching: arriving in Madrid, Princess **Michiko** stepped up to her Spanish counterpart, Princess **Sophia**, and bussed her on both cheeks.

Although **Zero Mostel** used to say that he banked his money in his art books filed under Monet, art is no joke

to the comic actor. A painter for 40 years, Zero had his first one-man show of more than 60 recent paintings and collages in Manhattan. "Let the paintings speak for themselves," he declared. And so they do, but in the accents of modern masters like **Dubuffet**, **Klee** and **Miró**. Zero's authentic voice can best be savored these days as he cavorts in a national touring company production of *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*. Currently: Valley Forge, Pa.

From a taxi tycoon to a Beautiful Person—thus **Robert Scull** was metamorphosed when he and his wife Ethel ("Spike") became early and well-publicized collectors of Pop art. The Sculls not only bought Warhols, Rauschenbergs, Poons, Johns, De Koonings, but also became Pop artifacts themselves by being reproduced—endlessly—from George Segal's plaster casts to Warhol's camera images. Last week the Sculls sold part of their family album. Fifty works that cost them a mere \$150,000 a decade ago went for \$2.2 million at Manhattan's Sotheby Parke Bernet. But the Sculls also got a coup de grace of sorts. Taxi drivers picketing the galleries claimed that the couple had scrambled upward and onward over their hard-driving backs. And **Robert Rauschenberg**, who sold his *Double Feature* to the Sculls for \$2,500 in 1959 and saw it go for \$90,000 at the sale, also had sharp words for his old friend Bob. "I worked my ass off for you to make that profit," he said. "You'd better buy my next one."



NAUGHTY PRINCESS NORI



OFFSTAGE PAINTER ZERO



BEBE REBOZO'S LADY LUCKE



POP ARTIFACTS BOB & SPIKE



## Commuting to War

NBC Correspondent Jim Hartz and an Israeli escort officer were filming an interview as their car traveled on the Golan Heights behind Israeli lines. Without warning, a shell hit near the road. While camera and tape recorder continued to roll, Hartz, his escort and film crew ditched the car and sprawled on the ground as a heart-stopping succession of blasts bracketed them.

Hartz and his companions escaped unscratched from the Syrian artillery barrage. But the gripping vignette dramatized the random dangers and constant frustrations involved in covering the Arab-Israeli war. Correspondents frequently can get close enough to the fighting to die. But except for Israeli reporters, who are allowed to follow the army, journalists generally have been denied the kind of front-line access that is necessary for the deep, intimate reportage that was almost routine in Viet Nam. The cost in blood has already been high. Three Israeli newsmen have been killed, including Radio Israel's Senior Producer Rafi Unger, 26. Nicholas Tomalin, 42, a respected English war correspondent (London *Sunday Times*), died when a Syrian rocket demolished his car near the Golan Heights.

**Rommel's Route.** By the war's second week, more than 500 reporters and TV technicians from 30 nations had assembled in Israel. Another 400 managed to get into Egypt. Most of them followed Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's land route from Benghazi in Libya, arriving in Cairo bone-weary and -dry after an 800-mile drive by taxicab across the desert (fare: \$400). Damascus and Amman played reluctant hosts to smaller press contingents.

None of the combatant countries were actively hostile to newsmen. Even Syria, which has no diplomatic relations with the U.S., allowed in a few American journalists, including *Time's* Karen Prager, the New York *Times's* Juan de Onis, CBS's Dean Breilis and ABC's Peter Jennings. Others were arbitrarily barred. Egypt and Israel both established elaborate press headquarters.

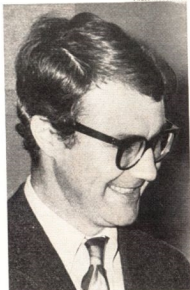
Neither Arab nor Israeli officials have permitted foreigners to move into battle with combat units, a practice commonly allowed by the U.S. military in South Viet Nam. Cairo even barred most Egyptian reporters from the front, though journalists of all nationalities were taken on a few brief, tightly guided excursions in the Sinai. When correspondents elected a 14-man pool for one such visit, Russian journalists walked out because the choice did not assure balance among Western, Communist and "Third World" newsmen.

Israel has provided 80 escort officers, including the movie star Haim Topol, to act as translators and tour guides to

combat zones approved by Israeli security. As an added fillip, the military press liaison runs daily tourist buses from Tel Aviv to the Golan Heights, but this service is unpopular with many reporters. "I wouldn't get into one of those coffins with masses of correspondents," says New York *Times* Correspondent Terence Smith. Indeed, on one trip, bus drivers ventured too close to the battle line and came under Syrian air and artillery attack. Only poor marksmanship averted a major press disaster.

Enterprising newsmen can rent cars in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem and attempt runs into Syria. When these intrepid commuters can elude Israeli blockades, they often find combat soldiers cooper-

PHOTO ASSOCIATION



NICHOLAS TOMALIN  
Close enough to die.

ative and friendly, particularly if newsmen offer to carry messages back to relatives at home.

Reporters are subject to tough government censorship on both sides. To their credit, both Arab and Israeli censors have rarely distorted stories solely for propaganda purposes. But they do excise any military information that might conceivably aid the enemy. Tricks to thwart such restrictions have already had some success. When ABC Bureau Chief Bill Seamans secured film of U.S. planes landing near Tel Aviv at the beginning of the American airlift, he phoned his headquarters in New York. As two Israeli censors listened, Seamans said: "I'm so tired I've been seeing stars." This cryptic message alerted network news chiefs to schedule a segment on the arrival of U.S. equipment (with star insignia) in Israel. Five minutes before that night's deadline, censors allowed Seamans to transmit the story.

Jordan's tense role at the edge of the fighting has resulted in a virtual blackout of hard information in Amman—not that much has been happening there so far. Newsmen were barred from travel outside the city and forbidden to film anything except the Hotel Intercontinental, which the Hussein government transformed into one of the world's most expensive—and silent—press centers. Censors examine and heavily edit all news reports. One reporter got his copy through untouched by labeling it "Not for Publication." Others have smuggled stories out by courier.

Egyptian censorship is similarly strict, and journalists must depend largely on the official communiqués issued a couple of times a day in Cairo. Veteran Mideast reporters think that these bulletins are less distorted than those issued by Egypt during its ignoble showings in 1948, 1956 and 1967.

Newsmen are often faced with conflicting communiqués. Last Thursday U.S. papers carried an Israeli spokesman's claim that an Israeli task force was still operating behind Egyptian lines west of the Suez. The same front pages also ran the Egyptian claim that no Israeli troops were left in Egypt. Considering such obstacles, the press generally has done a more than creditable job in covering the war. But the massed correspondents, tons of equipment and advanced satellite technology could not offset lack of steady access to events and knowledgeable sources.

## Bard of Okefenokee

Like masters of more exalted arts, Cartoonist Walt Kelly succeeded in turning an imaginary landscape into a public preserve. With pen and wit he put together the world of *Pogo*, an inspired amalgam of bogs, hollow stumps, hog-jowl dialect and cheery absurdity. There, over 150 anthropomorphic critters gnawed away at the English language, baring kernels of political meaning, and carried on not-so-innocent satires of human pomposity. Phineas T. Bridgeport, the Barnum of bears, orated in billboard letters that burlesqued hucksterism everywhere. "Nuclear physics ain't so new and it ain't so clear," declared Howland Owl, a bedraggled Perelmanesque pedant. Churchy LaFemme, a poetic turtle, reveled in alliterative *abababes*: "Whence that wince, my wench?" At Christmas time, Albert the cigar-smoking alligator led his Okefenokee swamp singers in newly shined carols: *Deck us all with Boston Charlie! Walla Walla, Wash. and Kalamazoo.*

The presiding genius was winsome Pogo Possum, once described by his creator as "the reasonably patient, soft-hearted, naive, friendly little person we all think we are." Kelly himself claimed kinship with his gruff alligator; to the



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# Apollo by Buick.

## We wanted to give people a small car they could move up to.

When we designed and built Apollo, we weren't designing and building just another small American car.

Our goal was to give America a small car that had weight, performance, and offered personal comforts that some other small cars had been doing without.

And in mid-1973 that's precisely the kind of small car we introduced.

What you're looking at here is a refined version of that car.

The grille has been redesigned.

New interior fabrics are offered. Bucket seats are available for the first time. So are steel-belted radial-ply tires.

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What has remained is our philosophy about small cars.

Which is why we have two Buick V-8's available for Apollo. And air conditioning. And a high level of both exterior and interior trim. And power accessories that help make driving easier.

The 1974 Apollo. If you're looking for small-car maneuverability and economy without giving up performance and comfort, you've just found it.

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really rather have  
a Buick?**



Get away from rough taste.

Get into the smooth taste  
of extra coolness. Only KOOL  
with pure menthol has it.

Come up to KOOL.



Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

14 mg. tar,  
1.0 mg. nicotine



Now, lowered tar KOOL Milds

Kool Milds 14 mg. "tar," 1.0 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, by FTC method. Kool Kings 17 mg. "tar,"  
1.4 mg. nicotine; Kool Longs 17 mg. "tar," 1.3 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Feb. 73.



## THE PRESS

politicians and fat cats Kelly caricatured, the resemblance was clear. But to those who saw him away from his drawing board, joyously discussing his creatures as if they were real, Kelly displayed all the gentler traits of the possum.

Kelly, who grew up in Bridgeport, Conn., began learning his art from his father, a theatrical scene painter. He edited the high school paper and drew cartoons for it as well. After working as a reporter for the Bridgeport *Post*, he went to Hollywood in 1935 as an animator at Walt Disney Studios.

**Go Pogo.** Pogo began taking shape during World War II. Kelly served as a civilian with the Army's foreign-language unit, where he picked up a special affection for the Southern dialect that was to become the patois of *Pogo*. (Though Kelly began using the Okefenokee setting in cartoons in 1942, he did not visit the swamp until 1955.) In 1948 he joined the short-lived New York *Star* as art director, editorial adviser and political cartoonist; he also donated *Pogo* strips to the impoverished paper. The *Star* folded the following year, but *Pogo* survived in the New York *Post*.

Editors were skeptical about a whimsical, literate strip full of talking animals; comic pages then belonged to the likes of Dick Tracy and Mary Worth. But *Pogo* was a smash. At its peak, the strip appeared in nearly 500 papers. The self-effacing possum made a major splash on the national scene in 1952, when college students parodied the Republicans' "I Like Ike" slogan by chanting "I Go Pogo." After a national write-in campaign, Pogo gracefully conceded the election to Eisenhower. Kelly introduced an unshaven wildcat named Simple J. Malarkey, who resembled the then-rampant Joe McCarthy and abused civil liberties in Okefenokee. Nikita Khrushchev appeared as a grumpy pig. Portraits of Lyndon Johnson as a nearsighted longhorn steer, J. Edgar Hoover as a squat bulldog and Spiro Agnew as a hyena occasionally annoyed editors and readers. As a result, papers sometimes dropped the strip. Kelly pro-

fessed indifference ("They usually come back"), but he sometimes prepared alternative, apolitical episodes and let his subscribers choose.

In another man, such a compromise might have seemed weak or self-serving. But Kelly, though an undeviating liberal, never viewed himself as a crusader. He was embarrassed when admirers took him or *Pogo* too seriously. "It is delight which causes laughter," he said, insisting that his political messages were secondary to comedy.

He enjoyed his life, his fame, his lecture audiences, his baroque drinking buddies. Jimmy Breslin tells of visiting him after the diabetic Kelly had had a leg amputated. Kelly displayed the stump as an excuse for missing an evening in the saloons. "I'll just have to wait," he said, "until it grows back." The father of six children by two marriages, Kelly retained a childlike enthusiasm for the world and its foibles until his death last week of diabetic complications at age 60. "There is talk," he once wrote, "that growing up is tough. If so, then perhaps I have not grown up at all."

WALTER DARR



WALT KELLY & POGO



PUBLISHERS: WALL STREET JOURNAL



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## CINEMA

### The Way We Weren't

THE WAY WE WERE

Directed by SIDNEY POLLACK

Screenplay by ARTHUR LAURENTS

If this ill-written, wretchedly performed and tediously directed film may be said to have a central flaw, it probably lies in its reckless violation of a bit of conventional theatrical wisdom: when you call a lot of attention to a gun on the wall in Act I, it had better go off—loudly—by the end of the evening.

The weapon everyone is pointing at here is politics, specifically left-wing popular-front politics in the 1940s. The script by Playwright Arthur Laurents

STEVE SCHAPIRO—TRANSWORLD



REDFORD & STREISAND IN WAY  
Popular-front shuck.

(*Time of the Cuckoo*) posits an improbable, if not preposterous relationship between a WASP jock-frat man (Robert Redford), who is, on the side, an incredibly sensitive writer, and a Jewish Stalinist campus radical (Barbra Streisand), who is, on the side, a novice earth mother. A great deal of pushing and hauling gets them from college to marriage to Hollywood in time for the anti-Red witch hunts. The purpose, one imagines, was to have the apolitical Redford's screenwriting career unfairly victimized because of his wife's gaudy leftism.

It doesn't work out that way, however. A certain amount of hot air is expended on the subject of political inquisitions in movieland, but Redford shucks his integrity without reference to political morality, and Streisand manages to shuck him over what seems a rather minor bit of marital infidelity on his part.

It is the audience that really gets

(Simulated TV picture)

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—JACK O'BRIAN, TV Critic & Columnist

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## CINEMA

shucked. The film does not actually have anything on its mind except to bring together two hot properties in a period setting for which there is currently a lot of nostalgia. Streisand predictably does her adorable neurotic bit. Redford unpredictably brings nothing to his role but his physical presence. As for the period, it is represented by a rag of costuming, a bone of set decoration and a hank of hair-styling. No one seems to have the faintest idea of the way we really were, spiritually and intellectually, in a testing, fascinating time of transition. The ideas and issues, and above all the human passions that arose out of them, are missing from this slick, cold and gutless work.

■ Richard Schickel

## Hells of Ivy

THE PAPER CHASE  
Directed and Written by  
JAMES BRIDGES

The absurd importance of certificates, permissions, licenses and ratings in all our lives, the pursuit of success not for fulfillment but only for achievement—these are the subjects of *The Paper Chase*, a movie of some incidental pleasures and insights and a great deal of silliness. Director-Writer Bridges (*The Baby Maker*) uses a typically tense year at Harvard Law School as a metaphor for the reflexive mania of competition, trying to squeeze into a school



BOTTOMS (LEFT) & CLASSMATE CRAMMING FOR EXAMS IN *PAPER CHASE*  
*Hysteria, suicide, and all for nothing.*

term a full complement of crosscurrents in the American national character. His designs for his story (adapted from a novel by John Jay Osborn Jr.) seem rather too hefty to be sustained by such a modest narrative, however. Bridges, like his hero, gets trapped in his ambitions.

What Bridges catches best is the peculiar tension of the classroom, the cool terror that can be instilled by an academic skilled in psychological warfare. His Ivy League Olympian is Kingsfield, a professor of contract law who passes

along scholarship with finely tempered disdain. In an original bit of casting, Kingsfield is played by Veteran Theater and Film Producer John Houseman. It is a forbidding, superb performance, catching not only the coldness of such a man but the patrician crustiness that conceals deep and raging contempt.

Bridges' hero is a bright law student named Hart (Timothy Bottoms). Hart fears Kingsfield yet feels a cockeyed respect for him. He divides his time between going up against Kingsfield in the

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## CINEMA

classroom and cuddling up with his daughter Susan (Lindsay Wagner), for whom he develops a healthy passion. Bridges is concerned with the cruelty of an academic system—and by extension, a whole system of professional survival—that measures success by assigning letters or numerals or awarding documents. Yet the grades seem just as important to him as to his hero. The dramatic device that gives *The Paper Chase* its unity and tension is the question of whether Hart will get his grades, whether he will ace-out Kingsfield's course.

Once Hart gets what he wants, he decides he doesn't care. Many of his classmates have been ravaged by the intensity of the competition, and one has even attempted suicide, but all the frustration and agony is abruptly reduced to pettiness by the film's infuriating last scene.

We are never told why Hart wants so much to succeed, since Bridges does not portray the origin or meaning of his ambition. His last, too easy gesture of mocking his achievement thus looks not only frivolous and empty-headed but contemptuous. It means that the students brought themselves to the edge of hysteria for nothing, that one tried to kill himself for nothing, that we were manipulated into caring about it all for nothing.

■ Joy Cocks

## Bad Dope

HIT!

Directed by SIDNEY J. FURIE  
Screenplay by ALAN R. TRUSTMAN  
and DAVID M. WOLF

*Hit!* is set in various locations round the U.S., British Columbia and France, although it is impossible to tell exactly where. To establish each new locale, Director Furie (*The Ipcress File*, *Lady Sings the Blues*) takes a closeup of a regional license plate, as if he were a cop keeping tab on the traffic. From Washington, D.C., to Washington State, about the only things that change are the colors and the numbers on the licenses. *Hit!* tries very hard to be a tough action picture, but it is just a little too addled—maybe from all that commuting.

Billy Dee Williams appears as a Government agent whose 15-year-old daughter has O.D.'d on bad dope. He swears vengeance on a Marseille-based smuggling ring and spends a great portion of the movie recruiting and training a sort of *Mission: Impossible* task force to give him a hand. *Hit!* is vehemently anti-dope, condoning the pathology of its hero and his commando blitzkriegs on the dope dealers with the self-righteous pragmatism common to pulp fiction. Anyone who can see beyond this, or below it, will catch a smooth performance by Williams and a funny, skittish performance by Richard Pryor, as one of Williams' recruits. Pryor's humor pierces through his characterization to mock the whole movie with energy and finesse.

■ J.C.

## THE THEATER

### The Faith That Faded

RAISIN

Book by ROBERT NEMIROFF and

CHARLOTTE ZALTZBURG

Production Directed and

Choreographed by DONALD MCKAYLE

Time falls like snow on all but the greatest of plays. It blurs their shapes, buries their points, exaggerates their defects and smothers their urgencies under a blanket of fresh, and sometimes chilling realities. When *Raisin in the Sun* first appeared in 1959, it heralded the awakening of the black consciousness. The central event of the play, the decision of a ghetto family to move into a house in an all-white neighborhood

MARTHA STOWE



VIRGINIA CAPERS IN *RAISIN*  
Rock of Ages woman.

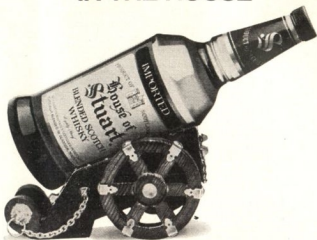
seemed just, proper and fittingly democratic. It also seemed like an elementary step toward righting racial inequity and a hopeful symbol of color-blind brotherhood. But 14 years later, when the aspirations of many blacks are directed toward other goals, including separatism, the decision and the issues that it raises seem hopelessly dated.

Making *Raisin* a musical does not update it but shoves it into the realm of soap opera. The cast, however, does work wonders. As the widowed matriarch of the Younger clan, Virginia Capers is one of those Rock of Ages women, pure survivor-cum-saint. Her voice is a trumpet, a caress and a sun-glazed sword. The most powerful song in the score, *Measure the Valleys*, is hers, and she renders it with the fiery melancholy of *Go Down Moses*. The rest of the company is appealingly human and uniformly talented.

The dances have the cumulative frenzy of a Holy Roller meeting, but nothing can animate the drama's faded, though once fashionable faith in integration.

■ T.E. Kalem

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LEWIS AT STRAWBERRY HILL

## The Walpologist

With a twinkle in his eye and mock solemnity in his voice, handsome, white-haired Wilmarth S. Lewis gazed at his New Haven audience and declared: "The year 1933 is memorable for three events: Hitler's accession to full power, the first Inaugural of Franklin Roosevelt, and the start of the *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*. Ladies and gentlemen, which of these events is, so to say, still going strong?"

Horace Walpole's correspondence, of course. No one knows it better than Lewis, a remarkably dedicated scholar who has kept the extraordinary project going since its start. As Yale and Lewis celebrated the undertaking's 40th anniversary last week, the edition stood at 37 three-inch-thick dark blue volumes. When the 50th and last volume is published (probably some time in 1978), the edition will contain, with meticulous annotation and indexing, 7,000 letters written or received by Walpole, the witty



HORACE WALPOLE

dilettante and social chronicler of 18th century England.

As the son of Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole and a Member of Parliament himself for 26 years, Horace was in a position to observe the *haut monde* of his time. Though he also wrote political diaries, art books and fiction (his *The Castle of Otranto* is the prototype of the gothic novel), Walpole wielded his pen effectively and entertainingly in writing letters to such friends as Poet Thomas Gray and Diplomat Sir Horace Mann. Sensing his correspondence's value to posterity, the bachelor author once said: "Nothing gives so just an idea of an age as genuine letters. History waits for its last seal from them."

Lewis emphatically agrees. While some 40,000 volumes of the Yale edition have been sold (at \$20 each), Lewis does not expect many scholars to read the complete set. "But," he adds, "no serious student of this period can afford to overlook this work. It has become the encyclopedia of the 18th century." It has

also become, for Lewis, the culmination of a lifetime devoted to collecting.

Now 77, Lewis started collecting things as a youngster. "My first attempt was with houseflies," he recalls. "I kept them in a cigar box until somebody threw them out without my knowledge." Undaunted, he moved on to sea shells, stamps, coins, butterflies and finally books. By 1923, Lewis had acquired 1,000 books of English literature. "I really didn't care about them," he says. "Yet I knew if I could get interested in one person, I could have a direction for life." Through pure serendipity—a chance remark of a friend at a dinner party—Lewis came upon the writings of Walpole and found a direction.

**Delicious Dust.** In a consuming search for Walpoliana, Lewis alerted bookmen, placed ads in newspapers and spent endless hours in libraries and bookstores. "I have had my share of dust," he says, "and it has been delicious. I saw all the unwanted Walpoliana lying about and felt like Sinbad in the Cave of Diamonds." He gleefully made off with prints once owned by Walpole that he saw hanging unrecognized in friends' houses. Once he tracked down 400 letters Walpole had written to a lady friend; they had languished in a London attic wrapped in old corset strings.

In 1933, as a Yale arts graduate, Lewis induced the Yale University Press to embark upon the publication of all Walpole's available letters. Lewis was appointed a university research assistant to work on the project, but he waived the customary salary. With an inheritance from his mother, whose family were California landholders, Lewis was independently wealthy. So was his late wife, the former Annie Auchincloss, who was a granddaughter of Oliver B. Jennings, a founder of the original Standard Oil Company. In fact, Lewis has borne all the research costs of the Walpole endeavor, including some 80 trips

\*A word coined by Walpole after the fairy tale recounting the happy adventures of *The Three Princes of Serendip* (or Ceylon).

## A Walpole Sampler

From a letter to an Elton friend about the funeral of King George II in 1760:

"The real serious part was the figure of the Duke of Cumberland heightened by a thousand melancholy circumstances... Attending the funeral of a father, how little reason soever he had to love him, could not be pleasant..."

"This grave scene was very contrasted by the burlesque Duke of Newcastle—he fell into a fit of crying—but in two minutes his curiosity got the better of his hypocrisy and he ran about the chap-

el with his glass to spy who was or was not there... Then returned the fear of catching cold, and the Duke of Cumberland, who was sinking with heat, felt himself weighed down, and turning round found it was the Duke of Newcastle standing upon his train to avoid the chill of the marble..."

To Diplomat Sir Horace Mann, 1774:

"We have comedies without novelty, gross satires without stings... and antiquarians that discover nothing."

"Don't tell me I am grown old and peevish and supercilious—name the geniuses of 1774, and I submit it. The next

Augustan age will dawn on the other side of the Atlantic. There will perhaps be a Thucydides at Boston, a Xenophon at New York, and in time a Virgil at Mexico, and a Newton at Peru."

To his friend Lady Ossory, 1781

"Why should not there be a language for the nose? The more the senses can be used indifferently for each other, the more our understandings would be enlarged. A rose, jassamine, a pink, a jonquil and a honeysuckle might signify the vowels, the consonants to be represented by other flowers. How charming it would be to smell an ode from a nosegay!"



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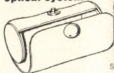


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## EDUCATION

abroad in quest of material and the salaries of all his assistants (who have usually numbered about a dozen). Lewis does not like to discuss the project's costs; the Yale University Press will say only that by present-day evaluation, it is a "multimillion-dollar venture." Except for the first couple of years, when he operated out of an office in the Yale library with one assistant, Lewis has also supplied working quarters at his estate near Connecticut's Farmington River.

Lewis calls his 18th century colonial home Strawberry Hill after the gothic castle that Walpole designed for himself in Twickenham. He shares other Walpolian interests: he is fond of art and antiques, carries on a voluminous correspondence of his own, and spends his spare time writing essays. Besides continuing the Yale volumes, Lewis is currently working on a book of essays about literature he has particularly enjoyed. In a chapter on Cicero's *De Senectute*, Lewis has written: "Ardent collectors are among the happiest of men because age does not weaken their rapacity." Clearly, Wilmarth Lewis is among the happiest of men.

## Recruitment Rock

For colleges that rely largely on student fees to meet their expenses, hard times are giving birth to the hard sell. Faced with a shrinking high-school population, some institutions have gone head-hunting with coast-to-coast billboard blitzes, offers of tuition discounts and mobile recruiting vans. Until alumni complaints forced it to stop, Eastern Oregon College even offered a bounty of \$60 for new students from Oregon, and \$100 for out-of-state catches.

Several other colleges have tried to turn on teen-agers with music. The University of Akron has a radio commercial backed by folk music; Franconia College has one supported by Mendelssohn. Mississippi State hands out records that proclaim, to a driving rock beat, that M.S. is "the groovy place to get it all together." But Chicago's Loyola University has now outthundered them all by saturating the local airwaves for a week with its very own soft rock song.

Sung in moony-croony fashion by Clark Weber, a local radio talk show host, the Loyola jingle asks: "Does the world need a vision or a better way to see? Would you rather find an apple, or learn to grow the tree? The question is now, the answer is life! And life is what Loyola's all about."

Many colleges still consider virtually any form of advertising as vulgar as graffiti on a mortarboard. At Loyola, the singing commercial seemed to please the faculty but it outraged the student newspaper. Labeling the pitch "degrading and embarrassing," an editorial declared: "Loyola is not a used-car dealership, or a carry-out Chinese restaurant or a discount department store. For the sake of St. Ignatius, aren't we a university?"

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### **3. Do you handle other people's money as carefully and conscientiously as you handle your own?**

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### **5. Do you plan for the long haul?**

Merrill Lynch has been a solid force in the investment field since 1914. We figure we're just getting started. We admire people who feel the same way about themselves.

### **6. Are you interested in international work?**

Merrill Lynch has become a major multinational company. Within the next five years,



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**7. Could you survive a rugged six-month training program?**

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**8. Do you have a proven record of success in a variety of activities?**

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**10. Do you communicate easily, concisely, frankly?**

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abrupt; be absolutely frank without seeming insensitive. If that sounds like a tall order, rest assured it *can* be done. We've got over 5,000 Account Executives to prove it.

**The next step.**

If you answered yes, wholeheartedly and unhesitatingly, to the ten questions we just asked—and you would like to try for a place in our Account Executive Training Program—send us your résumé. If you are already a registered Account Executive, the same invitation applies. Make sure your résumé includes your address and telephone number. Send to: Herbert S. Ruben, Vice President, Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith Inc., One Liberty Plaza, 165 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10006.

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Total assets.....	\$3,625,390,000
Net income (first six months, 1973) .....	\$13,586,000
Net worth .....	\$449,890,000
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Offices overseas .....	58
Number of employees .....	19,431
Securities held in custody .....	\$20,000,000,000

*All figures as of June 29, 1973.*

**Merrill Lynch is bullish on America.**



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av. per cigarette, FTC Report Feb. '73.

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That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

## Sand-Lot Scramble

Casey Stengel could hardly be blamed if he suffered from a severe case of *déjà vu* last week. He saw baseballs popping out of gloves, skittering between legs, dropping to the ground after third strikes. He watched unearned runs prance home as errors appeared on the scoreboard almost as often as hits. Casey might well have thought that he was reliving those burlesque days in the early '60s when he managed the infant New York Mets to three consecutive seasons in last place. But now Stengel was sitting in the stands. Not one but two teams were playing loosey-goosey, and both clubs were nominally the best in the land. Yet the Mets and the Oakland Athletics played the World Series as if it were a sand-lot scramble.

Both teams have well-earned reputations for eccentricity, and they reached the Series with strong pitching and tight defense. Oddsmakers favored the A's because of their better hitting, but the minimal expectation was for crisply played baseball. Some of the man-to-man match-ups had the potential for classic tests: Superpitchers Tom Seaver of the Mets and Jim Hunter of the A's, superior Shortstops Bud Harrelson and Bert Campaneris, Bullpen Stars Tug McGraw and Rollie Fingers, and, finally, two dramatically different managers and strategies. Yogi Berra had won the National League pennant by patiently waiting for the return of injured regulars and then sticking with one lineup down the stretch. Dick Williams had shuffled his mustachioed A's in and out all season in a blur of gaudy green-and-gold uniforms.

**Scrounged Runs.** The production had no sooner opened, though, when the jester started to steal the hero's lines. Met Second Baseman Felix Millan, who made only nine errors all season, gave the A's the first game when he let an easy ground ball slip past his glove. "The ball never bounce," said the Puerto Rican sadly after the 2-1 loss. In view of the anemia that was suddenly afflicting red-blooded A's hitters like Reggie Jackson, Williams could only welcome the gift. Said he: "We'll scrounge all the runs we can."

Scrounging runs was hardly the phrase to describe the second game's scoring. It was an error orgy. The Mets won 10-7 on three runs in the twelfth inning. The game featured six official errors and four other balls that got lost in the outfield glare but were scored as hits. Eleven pitchers appeared, and the game lasted a record-breaking 4 hrs. 13 min. All of which only paved the way for A's Owner Charlie Finley to make the most sensational error of all: the banishment of Second Baseman Mike Andrews, who had contributed to the loss with two errors in the twelfth. Finley bullied An-



SAL BANDO BOBBING

draws into agreeing to go on the inactive list. *L'affaire* Andrews finished Finley—at least as far as his team was concerned.

Wearing Andrews' number 17 on their arms in protest, the A's unloaded years of accumulated grievances against their boss. Reggie Jackson asked to be traded, saying: "For once I'd like to play some place where it's pleasant." The biggest bomb came from Dick Williams, who announced to his players that he would quit after the Series and probably manage the New York Yankees, a fourth-place team. Williams is the eleventh A's manager in the past 13 years.

**New Goat.** But family strife is routine for the A's, and they went into the third game no more dispirited than usual. Now it was the Mets' turn to fumble things away, the specific goat being Catcher Jerry Grote, who failed to hold a third strike pitch. That set up the A's unearned winning run in the eleventh inning. The score was 3-2—the third consecutive game decided by unearned runs. The fourth game was lost by the A's in the very first inning, when Third Baseman Sal Bando booted a surprise bunt by Felix Millan with a runner at first. Bando was not charged with an error, but if he had fielded the ball cleanly he would have had an excellent chance to force Wayne Garrett at second and double up Millan at first. Instead of a double play, the Mets had two men on base. Rusty Staub, sore shoulder notwithstanding, stroked a home run. Superb pitching by Jon Matlack gave the Mets a 6-1 victory. Even so, the home crowd's biggest ovation was not for Matlack or Staub. The fans rose for two thundering cheers when Mike Andrews, reinstated by Baseball Commissioner Bowie Kuhn, pinch hit late in the game. Even Finley managed a sheepish smile as Andrews walked



RAY FOSSE RETRIEVING



CLEON CLUTCHING

An unexpected orgy of errors.



ANDREWS OBSERVING

back to the dugout after grounding out.

On Thursday night, play tightened up considerably as the Mets shut out the faltering A's 2-0. Two errors—one by each team—did not figure in the scoring. A's Leftfielder Joe Rudi continued to make spectacular catches against the fence. Bud Harrelson contributed another flawless performance at shortstop for the Mets. Nevertheless, after five games, the two best teams in professional baseball had totaled 15 errors.

Two more were committed by the Mets in the sixth game as they lost to the A's 3-1. Those errors did not lose the game, but another poor play did. In the 3rd inning sore-shouldered Rusty Staub made a weak throw from right that allowed the A's winning run to score. The A's scored an insurance run in the 8th after the Mets' second error. The A's shook off their amnesia in the seventh game, remembering how to hit for the money. Campaneris and Jackson slugged Oakland's only home runs of the series. The Mets almost snaged a final miracle in the 9th inning thanks to an error, but the A's won, 5-2, and were champions again, despite themselves.



ATTORNEY BALL &amp; CLIENT EHRLICHMAN AT ARRAIGNMENT IN LOS ANGELES

## Ehrlichman's Lib Lawyer

Since he has coast-to-coast legal troubles, it is no surprise that former Presidential Adviser John Ehrlichman has coast-to-coast lawyers. In Washington, his attorney is crusty, conservative John J. Wilson, 72, who took some of the heat off his client by lecturing Senate Watergate probers as if they were first-year law students. In Los Angeles, where Ehrlichman is charged with perjury and complicity in the office break-in of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, he has retained equally feisty Joseph A. Ball, 70. But Ball is no conservative; his selection by Ehrlichman is eloquent testimony to the fact that litigation, like politics, makes strange bedfellows.

A dedicated liberal, Ball was the original lawyer for Anthony Russo, Ellsberg's co-defendant in the Pentagon papers case. He has strongly supported such opponents of Ehrlichman's old boss as George McGovern and Eugene McCarthy. He also regards President Nixon's least favorite Chief Justice, Earl Warren, as "the greatest American of our age—perhaps of any age." So why Ball? "There's no mystery," says another Nixon foe, former California Governor Pat Brown. "Ehrlichman needed the best, and he got him."

As Ball's law partner since 1966, Brown may be prejudiced. But other California attorneys and jurists agree. Says Superior Court Judge Emil Gumpert, who founded the American College of Trial Lawyers in 1950: "Ball is one of the few lawyers who can try any kind of litigation—criminal, civil, anti-trust, patent, anything. He's the best trial lawyer I've ever seen."

Ball, himself a former president of the trial lawyers' group, sees nothing unusual in his acceptance of Ehrlichman's

West Coast case. "Hell," he says, "I wouldn't be able to shave in the morning if I refused to defend Ehrlichman." He intends to defend vigorously. When TIME Correspondent Leo Janos asked Ball about the case, the attorney was not the least bit reticent: "My client is innocent. Ehrlichman should never have been indicted in the first place. A key question concerns asportation—to steal, take, carry away. By God, tell me what was stolen in this case. Nothing. What was the object of the entry? Who gave those young men the orders to break in? These are intriguing questions, but there's one clear fact: there was no burglary as the law defines it."

Last week Ball began his defense by arguing for dismissal of the Ehrlichman indictment. That failed, but he is ready this week with formal requests for some of the much sought presidential tapes, access to Ehrlichman's own White House files and access to the computers that have aided Special Watergate Prosecutor Archibald Cox and the Ervin committee in their investigations.

Next he is likely to ask that Ehrlichman's trial be severed from that of the other break-in defendants, a tactic that he has used effectively in the past. On one notable occasion, Ball successfully defended a land developer accused of bribing two L.A. harbor officials; tried separately, the hapless officials were found guilty of accepting the bribes. In recent years Ball has developed something of a side specialty in political bribery cases. "It got so bad for a while," he chuckles, "that my friends would say that politicians wait before taking a bribe to see how heavy my schedule is."

Ball began his practice in 1929, representing various oil companies in drilling-rights cases and other disputed claims. The Iowa-born son of a country

doctor, he entered the University of Southern California Law School after his parents moved to Long Beach. In private practice, Ball soon earned a reputation for a phenomenal memory. In a case involving a dispute over a Greek businessman's will, a family retainer told the court through an interpreter that the deceased had once said of a nephew: "I am scared he will kill me." Remembering his classical Greek from college days, Ball suggested that the proper translation could be: "I am afraid my relations will bear me ill will." Ball won his point and the case.

Despite his age, Ball shows no signs of frailty in or out of the courtroom. Up by 7, he plays nine holes of golf before going to work. (His home is on the 16th fairway of his club.) He is also fond of good food and good wines. Nonetheless, most evenings he is in bed by 7 so that he can settle down and read for a few hours—"anything or everything from briefs to biographies."

Offered a chance for a seat on the California Supreme Court when Brown was Governor, Ball decided that he preferred the style and combat of a trial lawyer. Though he loves a fight, he never pushes, as one judge puts it, with "foolish, unnecessary objections." Nor will he tolerate unethical behavior. He once had a doctor client who had performed a criminal abortion and wanted to testify that he had never seen the woman involved. Ball refused to let the doctor lie on the witness stand—but got him acquitted anyway. "Look," he says, "I'm neither judge nor jury. My job is to provide the best possible defense. The rest is up to the system of justice."

## The \$50,000 Bump

The Allegheny Airlines flight from Washington to Hartford had been overbooked, and the agent at the gate told the ticket holder: Sorry, confirmed reservation or no, all the seats are taken. Considering who the grounded passenger was, it might have been better to roll out another plane. For litigious Consumer Advocate Ralph Nader, unlike most travelers who are left at the gate, filed a lawsuit. He gathered evidence showing that Allegheny regularly overbooks (as do most airlines). Last week Federal Judge Charles Richey ruled that Allegheny bumps "wantonly" and "with malice." He tagged the airline for \$50,000 in punitive damages, half for Nader and half for the Connecticut Citizens Action Group, which the consumer advocate had been unable to address as a result of the missed flight. Allegheny said it would appeal, because overbooking is a necessary hedge against no-shows. If the practice is to be ruled unfair, says Allegheny, it should be changed by the Civil Aeronautics Board, not the courts.



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## ARCHITECTURE

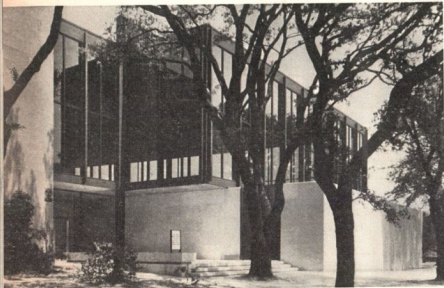
### Museum Without Walls

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, who died four years ago at the age of 83, was by general consent one of the three grand masters of early modern architecture, along with Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier. Mies' pure, honed elegance, as seen everywhere in his works, from his famous Barcelona chair (1929) to his glass-curtain walls, has transformed the appearance of every major city on earth. No modern architect has been more widely (or in most cases more clumsily) imitated.

Until 1958, when the success of his bronze Seagram building in Manhattan changed Mies from the architects' ar-

chitect of his meticulousness, proclaiming that a millimeter's change in the thickness of a mullion flange would read as a loss. The ground-floor film and lecture theater, with its black seats and dark teak rear wall, is a jewel of sober, lucid design. But on the large scale, all this is lost. Apart from the Houston Astrodome, one could barely imagine a less sympathetic space for showing art than Mies' vast curving hall, longer than a football field and 22 ft. high. "It's like trying to make the rotunda at the National Gallery into an intimate space," says E.R. Carmean, the museum's curator of 20th century art.

**Lofty Unconcern.** Some of the impracticality of this august airport lounge



MIES' BROWN WING AT HOUSTON'S MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

*Like an airport lounge, an anthology of vices and virtues.*

chitect to something of a general cult figure, his output of finished structures was quite small. But his final years were full of projects, the last of which is the Brown Wing of Houston's Museum of Fine Arts, which officially opens next January. Completed after his death, it was previewed last fortnight by a black-tie party of more than a thousand Texans. It is the fourth museum building by a leading international architect to rise in Texas in the past year (the other three are Louis Kahn's barrel-vaulted Kimbell Museum in Fort Worth [TIME, Jan. 15], Philip Johnson's white cubist Art Museum of South Texas in Corpus Christi and Edward Durrell Stone's stark brick Amarillo Art Center). Certainly the Mies building is the most problematic—an anthology of his vices and virtues.

One has a right to expect fine detail from Mies, and the Houston museum is no letdown; every junction is the vehi-

cle of his meticulousness, proclaiming that a millimeter's change in the thickness of a mullion flange would read as a loss. The ground-floor film and lecture theater, with its black seats and dark teak rear wall, is a jewel of sober, lucid design. But on the large scale, all this is lost. Apart from the Houston Astrodome, one could barely imagine a less sympathetic space for showing art than Mies' vast curving hall, longer than a football field and 22 ft. high. "It's like trying to make the rotunda at the National Gallery into an intimate space," says E.R. Carmean, the museum's curator of 20th century art.

In short, it seems that Mies, like his opponent Frank Lloyd Wright in the snail's windings of the Guggenheim Museum, felt a lofty unconcern verging on arrogance toward the needs of arts other than his own. Every grand old man has a prescriptive right to his clichés. But few have exercised it with more ruthlessness than Mies van der Rohe in this, his last building. ■ Robert Hughes

# PALL

## The longer

# MALL GOLD 100's lower in 'tar' than the best-selling 70mm.



**filter that's long on taste.**

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

PALL MALL GOLD 100's... "tar" 20 mg.—nicotine, 1.4 mg.  
Best-selling 70 mm. .... "tar" 25 mg.—nicotine, 1.6 mg.  
Of all brands, lowest. .... "tar" 2 mg.—nicotine, 0.2 mg.

20 mg. "tar" 1.4 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report SEPT. '73

# Peggy!



Peggy Fleming. The exciting performers of the Soviet Union. And the Bell System Family Theatre. Together, to bring you the finest in family television entertainment.

The incomparable ice skating star Peggy Fleming, and the artists of Moscow's Civic Ballet on Ice, the Moscow Circus, the Kirov Ballet and the Obrazsova Puppet Theatre. All on this season's first presentation of the Bell System Family Theatre, Sunday, October 28, on NBC. Check local listings for time.



## MILESTONES

**Died.** Walt Kelly, 60, satirical cartoonist who populated the Okefenokee Swamp with the innocent opossum Pogo and his furry companions (see THE PRESS).

**Died.** Gene Krupa, 64, virtuoso drummer and bandleader of the swing era; of leukemia and heart disease; in Yonkers, N.Y. Krupa played in Chicago combos during the '20s and '30s until in 1935 he joined Benny Goodman's fledgling band and began to drum up wild applause for *Sing, Sing, Sing* and his flamboyantly athletic solos. Following his break with Goodman in 1938, Krupa led a number of his own big bands until 1951, then starred in trios and quartets.

**Died.** Bernt Balchen, 73, Norwegian-born aviator who in 1929 piloted Admiral Richard E. Byrd on the first airborne expedition over the South Pole; after a long illness; in Mount Kisco, N.Y. When World War II broke out, Balchen joined the U.S. Air Force and performed daring rescue missions in Greenland. After the war he was commanding officer of an air-rescue squadron in Alaska.

**Died.** Norman Chandler, 74, long-time publisher of the Los Angeles *Times*; of cancer; in Los Angeles. The third-generation member of a family that had run the *Times* since 1882, Norman Chandler established it as the West's leading (and the country's richest) newspaper. In 1960, after leaving the *Times* in the hands of his son Otis, he devoted himself to his Times-Mirror Co. and through a series of acquisitions (including the Dallas *Times Herald*, *Newsday* of Long Island and a variety of firms that produced maps, paperbacks and Bibles), built it into one of the largest publishing concerns in the U.S. With his wife Dorothy, the easygoing, silver-haired Chandler was the titular head of Southern California's best-known dynasty and so ardent a Republican that, as he once boasted of the *Times* in the 1940s, "if we gave the Republicans a big story, we'd give the Democrats a small one."

**Died.** Margaret Anderson, 82, high-spirited literary den mother who founded the *Little Review* in 1914 in which she introduced Americans to the works of such then-avant-garde writers as William Carlos Williams, T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and Wallace Stevens; following a long illness; in Le Cannet, France. Although Anderson and co-editor Jane Heap were found guilty of publishing obscene material in 1918 when the *Little Review* carried several chapters from James Joyce's *Ulysses*, their publication continued to appear and make waves until 1929 when they quit publishing and retired because literature promised "repetitions only."



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If you're lucky enough to have a cider press, you know what fun it is to make your own cider. And how great it tastes, right out of the bucket.

But you might not know how great it tastes another way—mixed with Seagram's 7 Crown, America's favorite whiskey.

It's the Seven 'n Cider, a perfect drink for lazy autumn afternoons on the old front porch.

Of course, your cider doesn't have to be home-made. Any good cider will do.

Just make sure the whiskey is Seagram's 7 Crown, with the unique light taste that goes so well, so many ways.

Seagram's 7 has versatility. That's what makes it America's largest selling whiskey.



**Seagram's 7 Crown.  
It's America's whiskey.**



The Seven 'n Cider. 1½ ounces Seagram's 7 Crown.  
6 ounces fresh, sweet apple cider. Stir over ice.

# Accept no imitations

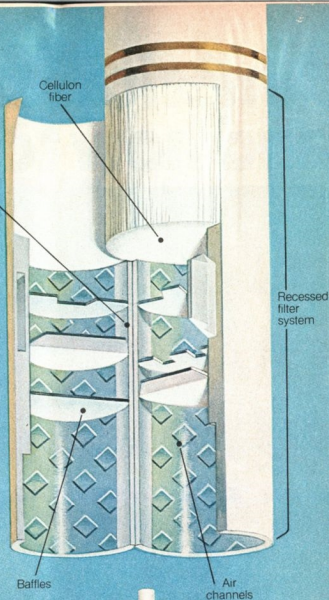
There are dozens of low "tar" and nicotine cigarettes. Some even have funny-looking tips and mouthpieces.

But there's just one Doral.

With its unique recessed filter system. Its easy, almost effortless draw.

And the taste low "tar" and nicotine smokers really like. Truly enjoy. Even swear by.

Like we said, there's just one Doral. And just one Doral will convince you.



**"I swear  
you can really  
taste me."**



Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

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FILTER: 15 mg. "tar", 1.0 mg. nicotine, MENTHOL: 15 mg. "tar", 1.1 mg. nicotine,  
av. per cigarette, FTC Report FEB. '73.

## MOOD

## A Growing Cloud of Doubt

Fear of recession, persistently high prices and disillusion with Administration economic policies are causing more and more Americans to view the economic future with a deepening sense of worry. This growing uncertainty was underscored last week by a report on the University of Michigan's latest survey of consumer attitudes, which noted that "never before in the 25 years that the surveys have been conducted has consumer pessimism been so widespread."

Between the end of 1972 and last month, when the latest study was completed, the consumer-confidence index plummeted 19 points to 71.8. That was a much sharper decline than in the 1969-1970 period just preceding the worst of the last recession. The report asserts that public gloom about all kinds of shortages and weaknesses in national leadership will soon show up in substantially reduced buying trends and that "a recession by early next year is possible, perhaps even probable."

Echoing this view, Economist Milton Friedman, a leading conservative, said that there is a "good chance" of a recession next year. Consumer prices, Friedman contended, would probably continue to climb 6% or 7%, only slightly less than the thoroughly oppressive level of 8% estimated for this year. The Government announced last week that living costs rose at an annual rate of 3.6% in September, a steep drop from

the explosive 22.8% increase in August. Even so, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Sidney Jones declared that inflation is "still awful."

Indeed, inflation is already cutting into some consumer buying plans, especially for durables such as television sets and washing machines. For the second month in a row, retail sales slumped in September, and new-car sales for the first ten days of October were down 16% from the equivalent period last year.

Another source of concern: the private housing field, which accounts for a major proportion of sales of durable goods, continues to take a hammering because of tight mortgage money and towering interest rates. New housing starts in September plunged 14.7% to an annual rate of 1,763,000 units, the sharpest drop in 13 years.

One bright spot is that interest rates, after climbing to record levels in August and September, are now declining. Treasury bills sold last week at a rate of 7.19%, down from a peak of 9.01%, and commercial paper was 9½%, down from 10½%. Most important, Manhattan's First National City Bank dropped its prime bank rate to businessmen from 10½% to 9½%, and other banks soon followed its lead. It was the first decline in the prime in nearly two years.

Part of the reason for the rate drop is that the Federal Reserve Board has gingerly loosened its supertight money policy in recent weeks, though Chairman Arthur Burns insists that the board is not yet ready to greatly relax its reins on credit. Even more important in making borrowing cheaper has been the weakening in loan demand as the economy declines.

**Some Strengths.** Though there is growing evidence that the peak of the boom has passed, the economy remains relatively strong. Last week the Government disclosed that from July to September, the nation's total output of goods and services increased 3.6%, up from the unusually small gain of 2.4% in the second quarter. Many experts believe that the nation can still escape an all-out recession. TIME's Board of Economists predicts that, discounting inflation, the economy for the whole of next year should expand by 2% to 3%—about half of this year's gain—though growth will probably hover at 1% or less for one or two quarters. This forecast anticipates such strengths as lavish spending by businessmen for new plant and equipment and a continuing surge in exports of both farm goods and industrial items.

Still, even the most optimistic predictions are for some increases in the

jobless rate and a decline in corporate profits next year. These painful side effects would not be entirely wasted, however, if the Administration could take full advantage of the business slowdown to snuff out inflation. And that goal could be best accomplished by a more rigorous application of Phase IV wage-price controls than the Administration has yet seen fit to attempt.

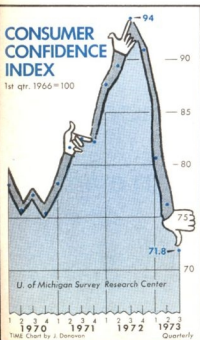
## PRIZES

## Award for an Activist

Since it was first awarded in 1969 by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, the Nobel Prize for economics has gone mostly to denizens of the dismal science's ivory tower. But this year, the \$121,000 tax-free prize was awarded to a Russian-born Harvard professor whose theoretical constructs, practical applications of complex statistics and passionate devotion to controversial causes have kept him in the public eye. He is Wassily Leontief, 67, and over the years he has helped formulate or strongly supported proposals for world disarmament, George McGovern's propositions for income redistribution, and even a plan to solve New York City's growing trash problem by levying a heavy tax on every disposable commodity from glass bottles to plastic wrap.

Though such direct involvement in public issues is unusual for an academic economist, it flows quite naturally from Leontief's most important achievement: the development of "input-output" analysis. Leontief's big contribution was

LARRY KROVITZ



NOBEL LAUREATE WASSILY LEONTIEF  
He knows the ins and outs.



Dr. Kenneth W. Kovanda graduated from college as an engineer, but returned to school to study dentistry. Is currently practicing in San Jose, California. Became interested in the stock market while still in high school. Originally did his own research exclusively, but has come to rely more and more on broker's advice.

**"Ten years ago, I went into the market with \$3,000.**

**The profits from that investment paid my expenses during dental school.**

**Paid for a car.**

**Helped furnish my apartment.**

**Financed trips to Europe and Hawaii.**

**Sure I'm still putting money into the market.**

**And I'm doing better than ever."**

**There's always a way to make money in  
The Market.**



## ECONOMY & BUSINESS

devising the formulas through which economists can determine with great precision how changes in one sector of the economy (inputs) will affect the performance of other sectors (outputs). Building on his pioneering work, Government economists now compile a huge statistical grid showing how much each economic sector buys and sells from every other major sector. Using the chart, they can, for example, calculate how much a decision to slow the building of barracks will reduce the sales not only of the paint industry but also of the chemical firms from which it gets its pigment. Also, planners can decide what changes in the tax structure might increase employment in the shipping industry or promote the construction of boxcars. Explains Leontief in his high-pitched, heavily accented English: "When you make bread, you need eggs, flour and milk. And if you want more bread, first you must get more eggs. There are similar cooking recipes for all the industries in the economy."

Born in St. Petersburg in 1906, Leontief studied at the University of Leningrad before his family fled Communism. He earned a doctorate in economics at the University of Berlin, and in 1931 joined the faculty at Harvard. Among his students in 1935 was Paul Samuelson, the M.I.T. professor who won the second Nobel economics prize in 1970. Besides Leontief and Samuelson, Harvard's Simon Kuznets—also a Russian émigré—won the award in 1971, and Harvard's Kenneth J. Arrow shared it in 1972. Cracked Leontief: "Do you think there should be an antitrust investigation?"

## ANTITRUST

### A Startling Reversal

Few spectators at the hearings in Tulsa's federal court last week could make much sense of the proceedings. Even Presiding Judge A. Sherman Christensen seemed more than a little confused. Less than a month after finding International Business Machines Corp. in violation of antitrust statutes and ordering it to pay its struggling rival, Telex Corp., a record \$352.5 million in damages (TIME, Oct. 1), Christensen developed second thoughts and sent the whole complex legal wrangle almost back to Square 1. Before the week was over, he changed course again and announced that he might be able soon to make a conclusion on the case after all. Christensen declared that "this has been agonizing for me."

Christensen had only himself to blame for his troubles. Instead of prudently issuing separate rulings on the merits of the suit and the size of the damages, he had attempted to settle the case all at once. In his original ruling, Christensen figured that certain "predatory" practices by IBM had damaged Telex to the tune of \$117.5 million, a figure

that he then tripled in accordance with antitrust law. But in this rush to judgment, he ruefully admitted last week, he had underestimated a crucial factor: much of Telex's potential business came from marketing disc drives and other "peripheral" computer components based on secret IBM designs. In his earlier finding that Telex had gained the designs by hiring away IBM employees, he had ordered Telex to pay \$21.9 million in damages to its giant rival. Last week he further granted IBM's motion for a reduction—by an as yet undetermined amount—of the \$352.5 million judgment against it.

What seems to have impressed the judge most was the argument of IBM's chief counsel, Thomas D. Barr, who contended that a failure to reduce the huge award to Telex would permit it to "claim damages which are effected by its un-

## BANKING

### The Westgate Scandal

The elaborately constructed business empire of Financier C. Arnholt ("Mr. San Diego") Smith has been under unrelenting attack for months. He is fighting the Securities & Exchange Commission, which has charged him and several cronies with fleecing the stockholders of Westgate-California Corp., the multimillion-dollar conglomerate of which Smith is chairman. The suit is scheduled to go to trial in San Diego this week. Smith is also dueling with the Internal Revenue Service, which claims that he owes \$23 million in unpaid taxes and interest. Even his old, close friendship with Richard Nixon, whom Smith has helped bankroll politically since the 1940s, has tumbled



SIGN ON INSOLVENT SAN DIEGO BANK

Eager for the quick profits that high rates seemed to promise.

NIXON UNDER SMITH

lawful plan to appropriate IBM's business to itself." Conceding that he faced an "almost unmanageable" problem in trying to rejigger the judgment, Christensen first plaintively requested the disputants to appeal to a higher court. But by week's end he had apparently recovered some of his old self-confidence and announced that he would "promptly" reset the damages himself.

Telex does not have much time to waste waiting. It has been counting heavily on collecting from IBM to rescue it from its deep debts. If the Tulsa-based company is forced to pay off the \$21.9 million claim against it before collecting at least as much from IBM, warned Telex Attorney Floyd L. Walker, "there is no way Telex can stay out of bankruptcy and become any kind of viable competitor." Walker's plea provoked a charitable response from IBM, which agreed not to press for the money until the case is finally decided.

him into trouble. The IRS is investigating whether firms under Smith's control made illegal contributions to Nixon's 1968 and 1972 campaigns.

Last week Smith, 74, suffered his greatest setback. In a move that rekindled memories of the bank crashes of the Depression, the U.S. Comptroller of the Currency declared insolvent the U.S. National Bank of San Diego (assets: \$1.2 billion), which Smith has controlled for 40 years. The collapse—the biggest in U.S. banking history—will not affect the funds of depositors, but it threatens to wipe out the investments of several major holders of U.S. National stock. Smith is the largest of these, with 28% of the 2,000,000 shares.

The bank has been under federal supervision since spring, when the Comptroller forced Smith to step down as chairman. Reason: the bank had lent more than the legally permissible 10% of its assets to companies controlled by

## ECONOMY & BUSINESS

a single individual: C. Arnholt Smith. Smith's enterprises turned out to be the bank's biggest credit risk; his companies' bad debts constituted an unspecified but large percentage of the \$143 million in outright losses and possibly uncollectible loans that U.S. National had on its books.

According to the SEC, Smith and some associates devised a complex scheme to convert Westgate's most profitable assets to their own use. Smith supposedly 1) allowed the conglomerate to buy up companies of questionable value at grossly inflated prices, 2) transferred control of the acquisitions to other parts of his financial machine, and 3) used these grossly inflated assets to secure huge loans from U.S. National. In other instances, Smith is charged with sell-

ing solid Westgate holdings at bargain prices to other companies under his control and financing the deals with loans from the bank.

This legacy contributed to an almost insurmountable problem for U.S. National. Since the risky loans totaled about \$80 million more than the sum in its capital account, the bank was forced to pay higher and higher interest rates to attract the large, short-term deposits that it needed to continue operations. In recent months, the bank's managers have been buying up money on the open market in sums of \$100,000 or more from corporations, labor unions and private investors eager to make the quick profits that those extraordinarily high interest rates seemed to promise. But by September, the pressure of paying the in-

terest on this money had become so great that the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Comptroller's office began asking other banks to buy up and bail out the failing U.S. National. San Francisco's Crocker National Bank won the bidding with an \$89.5 million offer.

The question is what happens to the bank's stockholders. Unlike depositors, whose funds are insured up to a total of \$20,000 by the FDIC, they have no protection and could end up losing every nickel. At week's end, the biggest potential loser was ensconced in the penthouse of the Westgate Plaza Hotel in San Diego, protesting his innocence. All his troubles, said C. Arnholt Smith, stemmed from the fact that overzealous "bureaucrats" resented his friendship with President Nixon.

## EYECATCHERS

### Middleman Moves Over

After several weeks of difficult negotiations with himself, 49-year-old W.J. ("Bill") Usery Jr. has decided to throw his hat into the ring alongside those of all the other labor leaders who are hoping to succeed 79-year-old George Meany as head of the roughly 14 million-member AFL-CIO. Usery will leave his \$400,000-a-year post as President Nixon's chief labor negotiator and director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service—from which an appointment as Secretary of Labor might have been easy to grasp. As head of the AFL-CIO's newly created department of organization and field services, he will become the No. 3 man in the union, behind Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland, 51.

A big, back-slapping Georgian who went to work as a welder in 1941 and later was an official of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, Usery has made no enemies as the Government's "middleman" in labor disputes. He has been a tenacious round-the-clock bargainer who often appealed to negotiators' patriotism. Usery was instrumental in averting a walkout of 13,000 railroad signalmen in 1969 and later settled a bitter, eleven-week teachers' strike in Philadelphia. In directing and coordinating the political, civil rights and community-affairs activities of the AFL-CIO's extensive field staffs, he is expected to wield enormous influence within the labor movement. His lack of a solid power base within the AFL-CIO, however, may block his advance if Meany steps down in the near future.



W.J. ("BILL") USERY

### Rich and Lazy

He only works half the year in his stunning office on California's Sunset Beach, and when he is there he puts in short hours. Even so, he figures to make \$500,000 in 1973. In other words, Joe Karbo, 48, is the prototype for his book *The Lazy Man's Way to Riches*. The slim \$10 paperback, which Karbo candidly describes as "outrageously overpriced," has sold 139,000 copies in the past six months.

Karbo, a bearded bear of a man, started a direct-mail house in 1962 to sell books on health, sex, beating the horses and how to get out of debt in 90 minutes (Karbo was once \$50,000 in debt, and it took him three years). Before he wrote *Lazy*, he ran test ads for it: "I used to work hard... but I didn't start making big money until I did less—a lot less. For example, this ad took about two hours to write. With a little luck it should earn me fifty, maybe a hundred thousand dollars."

The book is part rip-off, part a paean to the potential of positive thinking. Karbo advises readers to see themselves as winners, and enter the mail-order business. He is less than specific about what one reader should sell, counseling readers to determine what they are best at, then figure out a product or service that can capitalize on that talent.

The ad campaign for *Lazy* is budgeted for \$400,000, to be spent on ads in everything from dailies to girlies to *Intellectual Digest*. Instead of the shopworn "money-back guarantee," Karbo promises to hold the buyer's check or money order uncashed for one month; only 10% return the book. He also offers to evaluate readers' ideas, and the letters are pouring in. Says Karbo: "I'm just as lazy as ever, but I'm more bothered." And, of course, more rich.



JOE KARBO

### Commodity Compromise

The Chicago Board of Trade is one of the nation's last untamed financial frontiers, where fortunes are often won and lost in a week of frenzied commodities dealing. Last week the board got a new president, quiet, methodical Warren W. Lebeck, 52, an officer of the C.B.T. for the past 19 years. Lebeck was picked by the board of directors after a divisive five-month manhunt. He is a compromise candidate, who lacks the charisma and political clout of his \$110,000-a-year predecessor, Henry Hall Wilson, a well-connected Democrat who returned home to North Carolina last June to challenge Sam Ervin for his Senate seat in 1974. But Lebeck may be the perfect man for the job.

The administrative expertise that he has gained over the past eight years as day-to-day operating chief will be an asset to the C.B.T., whose dollar volume of trading in wheat, soybeans, corn and other commodities has increased 176% since 1972, when it exceeded that of the New York Stock Exchange. His reputation as an unflinching guardian of the rules governing the complicated wheeling and dealing in his business may temper the thrust of some recent Congressional developments. The House Agricultural Committee is beginning to investigate whether excessive speculation in commodities markets has inflated food prices; and Senators Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern have introduced bills calling for the creation of an independent Commodities Exchange Commission to oversee the trading of futures contracts in much the same way that the Securities & Exchange Commission keeps its eye on the sale of stocks and bonds.



WARREN LEBECK

Photographed at Shannon Falls, British Columbia.

# Canada at its best.

Try the light, smooth whisky that's becoming America's favorite Canadian.  
Imported Canadian Mist.





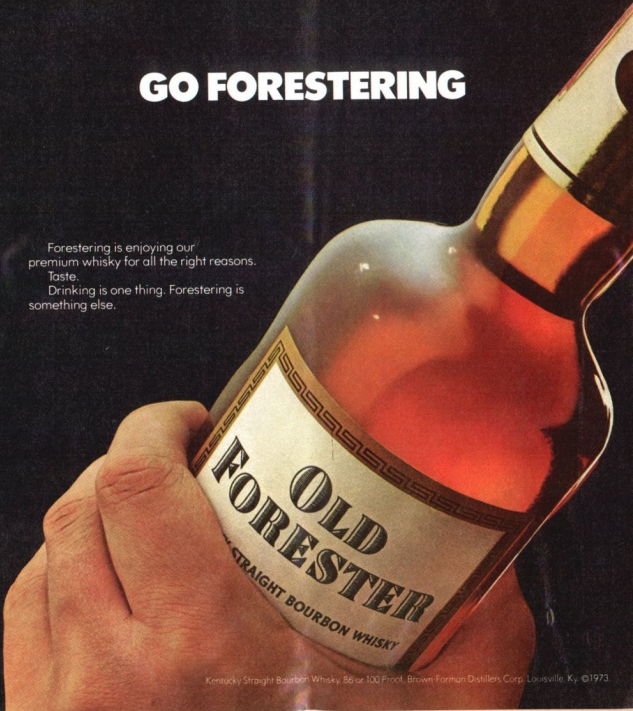
**WHEN THERE'S A GRAY AREA  
BETWEEN YOUR  
BLACK LABEL AND WHITE LABEL**

**GO FORESTERING**

Forestering is enjoying our  
premium whisky for all the right reasons.

Taste.

Drinking is one thing. Forestering is  
something else.



**OLD  
FORESTER**  
KENTUCKY STRAIGHT BOURBON WHISKY



## The Misadventurer

MALCOLM LOWRY

by DOUGLAS DAY

483 pages, Oxford, \$10.

The untidy life and death of Malcolm Lowry have provided one of those feverish legends that persist in the literary bloodstream. With good cause. Lowry's was a life that both offends and fascinates—which is to say it excites the voyeuristic instinct. There were his Faustian bouts with alcohol as some kind of sorcerer's abused magic potion. There were his Baudelairean fumbings at the back door to salvation. There was also some basic tight-vested Freudian neurosis and a not quite redeeming sense of irony.

For all the lush seriousness of his prose, Lowry was quite aware of the ridiculous, troublesome figure he cut for most of his 47 years. A touch of buffoonery even creeps into *Under the Volcano*, that hellish pressure cooker of a novel that was his only important work.

Lowry died 16 years ago after taking too many barbiturates. Death by "misadventure" is what the coroner kindly called Lowry's end, and Biographer Douglas Day, a professor of English at the University of Virginia, makes sure that the verdict resonates through all the chapters of Lowry's life.

Lowry started most promisingly as a son of a rich Liverpool businessman. The senior Lowry and his other sons were interested in sports and money-making. Malcolm's own view of his childhood was far from sanguine, and quite possibly exaggerated. He blamed his later difficulties on such things as insensitive parents, a sadistic nanny, and locker-room ridicule aimed by school chums at his genitalia.

**Sailor-Poet.** But according to Day, young Lowry was not just a budding aesthete. After losing his baby fat, he turned into a credible rugby player, a strong swimmer and an excellent golfer. He wrote jazz songs and played the ukulele, an instrument that accompanied him all his life. He even spent a year as a deck hand aboard a freighter (driven to the dock in the family Rolls). Upon his return he entered Cambridge, where he played the experienced sailor-poet, began work on his first novel, *Ultra-marine*, and started serious drinking.

The literary Lowry was founded on poetic rather than narrative talents. He was heavily influenced by the complex psychological lyricism of Conrad Aiken. Poet Aiken was to become Lowry's friend, surrogate father and even baby sitter. At one stage Lowry's father, worried about his son's disorderly ways, hired Aiken at \$100 a month to keep an eye on Malcolm.

Biographer Day shows a good deal of discernment when treating Lowry as

a charming poseur. He quotes some apt lines from Auden's *In Praise of Limestone* that characterize those youths who are unable *To conceive a god whose temper-tantrums are moral! And not to be pacified by a clever line! Or a good lay.*

Lowry spent much of the '30s and early '40s following Aiken to America or visiting friends clustered in quiet, inexpensive towns in Spain and Mexico. He was by most accounts great, though trying, company. Aiken's wife constantly feared that he would absent-mindedly set fire to his mattress or break a leg falling downstairs. "He moved like a somnambulist, his blue blazer spotted and rumpled, a necktie holding up his trousers," she recalled. Another friend remembers Lowry morosely entering a

The claim is eloquent and sincere. But next to Graham Greene's *The Power and The Glory*, *Under the Volcano* is far too hermetic and self-absorbed. To be sure, its theme is the pathetic death of a talented alcoholic who discovers that his tragedy lay in failing to realize that salvation was not in heaven but in loving on earth. Lowry's vision of heaven and hell is not religious but symbolic in a rather overly literary way. This is to say nothing of his lavish, interior decorator's use of mysticism and the occult. The novel does have considerable power and cohesiveness. But it is the cohesiveness of a desperately inventive mind that bends all to fit its private torment. It is not condescending to say, however, that *Under the Volcano* is the century's greatest novel about alcoholism, written by a man who deserves—and gets from Biographer Day—understanding, sympathy and respect. ■ R.Z. Sheppard



MALCOLM LOWRY, 1953

Heavy hand on a white rabbit.

London restaurant with a dead white rabbit in a suitcase. Like Lenny, the moron in *Of Mice and Men*, Lowry had broken the animal's neck while fondling it.

Alcoholism landed Lowry in the Skid Row ward at New York's Bellevue Hospital, a searing experience that became the subject of his novella *Lunar Caustic*. He was also jailed and deported from Mexico, the scene of *Under the Volcano*, a novel that took ten years, at least four revisions, and the love, patience and help of Lowry's second wife, Margerie Bonner, a former Hollywood actress. Given Day's cool, unenthusiastic and quite accurate assessment of Lowry's poetry and stories, it comes as something of a surprise to find him pulling out all the stops for *Under the Volcano*. "The greatest religious novel of this century," Day proclaims.

## Hubris in the Street

THE GO-GO YEARS

by JOHN BROOKS

357 pages, Weibright & Talley, \$10.

It was only a few years ago. Mutual funds were growing so fast that their chiefs seemed likely to become American *zaibatsu*. Conglomerateurs were making profits appear out of thin air by "creative" merger accounting and deceiving legions of the gullible. Golden showers of money were descending on brokers merely for saying yes to clients over the phone.

But now that mutual funds are hemorrhaging cash and conglomerate has become a dirty word, the story of the 1960s on Wall Street has the faraway quality of tales from 1929. As *New Yorker* Writer John Brooks points out, the speculative excesses of the decade bore a haunting resemblance to those of the '20s, and they, too, led to a resounding market crash (in 1970) that wiped out fortunes and nearly destroyed Wall Street itself by threatening to bankrupt its biggest brokerage houses.

In *The Go-Go Years*, Brooks tells the story of that doomed decade in the market, and a fine moralistic tale it is. Brooks' research is not impeccable. Despite his reputation as a clarifier of financial complexities (*Once in Golconda*), following his prose requires a working knowledge of market terminology. Some of his stories are long digressions from the sweep of his history. Never mind. He is about the only writer around who combines a thorough knowledge of finance with the ability to perceive behind the dance of numbers "high, pure, moral melodrama on the themes of possession, domination and belonging."

The book's pursuit of such themes produces a succession of well-turned

**"He called us  
Long Distance  
with some  
questions  
about the  
letter."**

**SOMETIMES LETTERS JUST DON'T DO IT.**



tales. In particular the saga of Edward Gilbert, parvenu builder of a short-lived empire in construction materials, is a fine financial version of *The Great Gatsby*. Along the way, Brooks tells of how investors got fleeced and shows some of the major changes in the social ambience of Wall Street, most notably the temporary replacement of the old-line leadership by a crew of sideburned young "gunslingers." Throughout, Brooks steadily returns to his grand theme, which is Greek tragedy: financial *hubris*—exemplified by the belief that companies and brokers could go on forever peddling mountains of essentially worthless paper—leading swiftly and blindly to disaster.

The outcome was not quite cathartic. Wall Street did save itself, barely, by a series of mergers between shaky brokerage houses that makes a well-told suspense story. But in Brooks' view, "the



"Face it, Shmedley—today's young investor just doesn't take the market's fluctuations as seriously as we did!"

Street" is being destroyed anyway by technology. "The twin forces that hold Wall Street together as a social unit," he explains, "are the stock certificate, the use of which calls for geographical unity because it must be quickly and easily conveyed from seller to buyer, and the stock-exchange floor, which gives stock trading a visible focal point." Neither is necessary any more; stock trades can easily be arranged by a computer in Dallas talking to one in Los Angeles, or wherever.

Investors may be better served that way, the author admits, but such a set-up will be too impersonal to nurture the moral melodrama that Brooks loves. He probably need not worry, though. Greed, ambition and willful refusal to face reality are constants, quite capable of being programmed into computers (as shareholders of Equity Funding have discovered). Burned investors of, say, 1983 will still need a Brooks to tell them how it was done.

■ George Church

Smokers of the best-selling  
filter king:

**CUT YOUR  
'TAR' IN HALF**



**LUCKY TEN**  
**Only 10mg. 'tar'**

LUCKY TEN ..... "tar" 9 mg.—nicotine, 0.6 mg.  
Best-selling Filter King ..... "tar" 20 mg.—nicotine, 1.3 mg.  
Of all brands, lowest ..... "tar" 2 mg.—nicotine, 0.2 mg.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

9 mg. "tar" 0.6 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report SEPT. 73.



## Notable

A FAIRY TALE OF NEW YORK

by J.P. DONLEVAY

341 pages. Delacorte, \$7.95.

From *The Ginger Man* on, J.P. Donlevay's novels have been simultaneously cruel, sentimental, repetitive and sporadically funny. Donlevay heroes are ridiculous figures who wallow in self-pity behind their mannered fronts and anesthetize deep personal hurts with sex and alcohol. Like Cornelius Treacle Christian, the errant knight in tweed armor of *A Fairy Tale of New York*, Donlevay's people move around a lot—"Moving all the time," says Christian, "hoping for a master stroke of solace somewhere."

Treacle Christian (the name alone too obviously signals Donlevay's intent) is a penniless, Bronx-born expatriate who returns to New York from Europe where he has been highly schooled and polished. The inadvisability of his return is made quite evident at the beginning when his wife, a delicate hot-house beauty, dies during the ocean crossing. The implication is that rare and fine things do not travel well, especially to New York.

Christian's New York is alternately tempting and repulsive, "one monstrous insult to the delicate spirit." A funeral director gladly offers to forget the bill for burying Christian's wife if he will come to work as a front man at the mortuary. An industrialist thinks he can use a little class in the jingle department.

All these opportunities come to bad ends because Christian's outrage keeps breaking through his overcourtous exterior. He tells off brand-new widows who complain about their dead husbands' makeup. He is too quick with his fists, which are surprisingly effective. Yet Donlevay's New Yorkers are thorough professionals, blunt and disturbingly honest about their own illusions. Unfortunately, Donlevay is rather slippery about his own illusions. The city, he seems to be saying (especially when he pumps his prose full of Celtic twilight), is no place for a wandering Christian.

## THE TANGO BRIEFING

by ADAM HALL

277 pages. Doubleday, \$6.95.

With four speedy, intricate spy novels behind him, Adam (*The Quiller Memorandum*) Hall is a small luminary in the genre. In this latest case, Super-agent Quiller applies his spectacular professional skills toward the saving of Britain's face in the Middle East. The plot is Hall's most extravagant yet; Quiller takes on two enemy spy groups, the North African desert and a tactical nuclear device. He inhales nerve gas, makes two parachute jumps, and gets pecked by vultures.

Indeed, Hall seems to have forsaken the mysterious side of espionage, at

least partly, in favor of technological high jinks. In the course of the novel, the careful reader will learn about the physical properties of telescopic rifles, soaring, nighttime airborne dead reckoning with a computer assist, and high-speed driving. Hall is also expansive on the techniques of clandestine radio communication.

Hall's characters are forgettable, but as a stylist the author seems to be working toward a new kind of thriller rhetoric. His best trick is the no-transition paragraph that picks up not where the action left off but two paragraphs of conventional narration later. The reader has to guess what happened in between, and the overall effect makes him feel that he is the one out there in the desert with the vultures.

JILL REBERTS



STANLEY ELKIN

## SEARCHES &amp; SEIZURES

by STANLEY ELKIN

304 pages. Random House, \$6.95.

In *Boswell, A Bad Man* and *The Dick Gibson Show*, Stanley Elkin demonstrated lavish verbal and comic gifts, a generosity of spirit and a talent for staging extravaganzas of the absurd. If his plots lurched and his ideas went off like random flares, Elkin's characters commanded attention because of the manic way they acted out their necessities.

In *Searches & Seizures*, a collection of three novellas, each Elkin hero obeys his needs with results that vary from the bitterly funny to the preposterous and pathetic. Alexander Main of *The Bail-bondsman* is a kind of clawlike extension of the law's arm—a bondsman who pursues his work with outrageous devotion. A typical Elkin creation, Main promotes himself to legendary status, invoking history, philosophy and myth until he seems like a burlesque

Mephistopheles to petty criminals.

Brewster Ashenden, hero of *The Making of Ashenden*, is quite the opposite. One of the world's richest and most civilized men, he hungers after refinement. Ashenden does not, like Main, take life by the throat. It grabs him. Specifically, he is raped by a bear—a ridiculous fate but one that seems appropriate to break through the charmed circle of Ashenden's life.

In *The Condominium*, necessity takes a sad and more familiar form. Phil Preminger is a 37-year-old unpromising academic and a heart patient. Like Saul Bellow's famous character, Preminger is a dangle man. But he also gets a chance to seize the day. When his father dies, he seems driven by some homing instinct to move into the dead man's condominium apartment in Chicago. It is a terrible mistake. The young man finds himself disastrously enmeshed in the crochets and suffocating propriety of the older residents. The story proves that Elkin, one of America's most inventive comic writers, is also adept at old-fashioned realism.

## THE MAKING OF GONE WITH THE WIND

by GAVIN LAMBERT

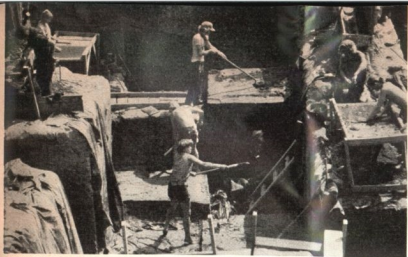
238 pages. Atlantic-Little, Brown, \$7.95.

Margaret Mitchell toyed with the idea of calling it *Tote the Weary Load*. Her heroine at one time was named Pansy O'Hara. Vivien Leigh got the part in the movie only after David O. Selznick had already burned down the massive sets from *King Kong* and *The Garden of Allah* to effect the destruction of Atlanta. Selznick's brother Myron, slightly drunk, pulled up to the glowing ruins and triumphantly presented the young English actress: "I want you to meet your Scarlett O'Hara." Leigh remembered that when she got into Scarlett's costume for the test, it was still warm from the previous candidate.

Screenwriter-Novelist Gavin Lambert tells this short history of *Gone With the Wind* in a level, intelligent prose that contrasts nicely with his extravagant subject. He concentrates upon Selznick, an obsessive perfectionist who brought off the film in spite of the collective industry opinion that regarded it as "Selznick's Folly." Sometimes his conferences would last 48 hours, nonstop. He went through four directors and scriptwriters like F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ben Hecht. When the Screen Extras Guild produced only 1,500 bodies to represent the Confederate wounded at the Atlanta Railroad Station, Selznick violated union rules by ordering up 1,000 dummies to swell the crowd.

Selznick never again matched this success. If for nothing else he deserves credit for fighting back the Hayes Office on the subject of Rhett Butler's famous "I don't give a damn" exit line. After months of negotiation, the censors agreed that Rhett did not have to tell Scarlett: "Frankly, my dear, I don't care."





VOLUNTEER DIGGERS UNEARTHING PREHISTORIC RELICS IN KOSTER'S CORNFIELD

## SCIENCE

### Cache in the Cornfield

When he was told that the little cornfield on the banks of the Illinois River was strewn with old Indian arrowheads and pottery shards, Northwestern University Archaeologist Stuart Struever decided to do a little spade-work, hoping to unearth an ancient Indian settlement. What he found exceeded his wildest expectations. The plot, owned by a farmer named Theodore Koster, may well hold some of the most important archaeological remains ever discovered in North America.

Excavating steadily for the past five summers in Koster's cornfield, which is 45 miles north of St. Louis, Struever's team has dug up the remnants of at least 15 separate prehistoric settlements. Stacked atop each other in easily distinguishable layers—or horizons, as archaeologists call them—the individual settlements were in remarkably good condition. They had been so well preserved by covers of protective dust, which blew down from nearby bluffs after they were abandoned, that they can be "read" by archaeologists like pages of a history book. The oldest layer dates back some 8,000 years, proving that the site of Koster's cornfield—and probably other parts of the fertile Illinois River valley as well—were inhabited long before the Egyptians built the Pyramids or the ancient Britons erected their monument at Stonehenge.

The number of diggers at the rich archaeological lode, most of them volunteers, has grown steadily. They have already removed some 100,000 cu. ft. of earth, painstakingly examining all of it. Each fistful of dirt must be carefully sifted through screens, not only for fragments of Stone Age tools and weapons but also for bones, plant remains and other seemingly trivial objects. Fossilized snails, for example, can be studied for evidence of ancient climatic changes (different species survive in different

temperature ranges). That, in turn, could explain why some of the settlements were abandoned. Seeds, on the other hand, can provide strong hints about what the ancient settlers ate.

Struever has already gathered so much useful material that he needs a computer to store, catalogue and analyze all his data. His findings, though still far from complete, have drastically changed the image of the prehistoric North Americans who lived in the area. Contrary to the accepted view, Struever says, these Stone Age people apparently led a rather idyllic life. Food was plentiful in the lush valley, allowing them to feast on nuts and wild grains, ducks, mollusks and fish. One cooking pit, for example, contained some 22,000 fish bones of all sizes, down to skeletons of 1-in.-long minnows; apparently they were all cooked together in a giant prehistoric bouillabaisse.

**Peaceful Life.** Unlike Stone Age hunters and gatherers elsewhere, the Illinois dwellers were not nomads; they lived in relatively permanent homes made of logs, twigs and grass. The diggers have found no evidence of warfare until a few hundred years before the establishment of agriculture in A.D. 800. It was during this period that the population began to grow noticeably, probably increasing the competition for the available food supply.

For Struever, this evidence has important implications. "Our work has shown that life for early man was not necessarily nasty, brutish and short," he says. "Judging from all the clues we have found, man led the good life in the Illinois River valley. He had plenty of leisure time in which to domesticate pets. It's sheer folklore that primitive people had to struggle from dawn to dusk simply to survive." In short, the early Americans of the Illinois River valley, like their modern counterparts, enjoyed a relatively peaceful life and a highly enviable standard of living.

# Which color TV needs fewest repairs?

## TV service technicians say Zenith. Again.

For the second consecutive year, a nationwide survey of independent TV service technicians named Zenith, by more than 2 to 1 over the next best brand, as needing fewest repairs.

**QUESTION:** "In general, of the brands you are familiar with, which one would you say requires the fewest repairs?"

### ANSWERS:

Zenith	35%
Brand A	14%
Brand B	11%
Brand C	5%
Brand D	3%
Brand E	3%
Brand F	2%
Brand G	2%
Brand H	2%
Brand I	1%

Other Brands 3% About Equal 13% Don't Know 11%

NOTE: Answers total more than 100% because some service technicians named more than one brand. Survey details on request.

# ZENITH

The quality goes in before the name goes on.

## SHOW BUSINESS & TV

### The Early Early Show

Four and a half million Americans, according to a National Broadcasting Co. survey, are lolling awake at home at 1 o'clock every morning. And what do they have to watch on television? Little more than faded black-and-white movies interrupted by supercharged hawkers of old cars. Last week NBC started offering something else: a network early early talk show that runs Monday through Thursday from 1 a.m. to 2 a.m. E.D.T., immediately following the *Tonight* show and a few hours before the *Today* show. It is called (what else?) *Tomorrow*.

Network censors, like almost everyone else, are a little less upright in the wee hours; thus *Tomorrow* plans to focus on controversial subjects and straight, even abrasive talk. "The *Tonight* audience wants to be entertained," claims *Tomorrow's* Producer Rudy Teliez. "But at 1 a.m. you have a different kind of audience, one that wants to be informed, that wants to know what's happening." Perhaps. Maybe some people simply want to get to sleep.

**Brash and Loud.** At any rate, the first *Tomorrow* was spent discussing group marriages with two "triads" of spouses, one with two males, one with two females. Subsequent programs included a round table of rock groupies explaining their avocation, and a confrontation between a young woman involved with a Jesus people cult and a former social worker who "deprograms" such kids



SNYDER & GROUPIE ON *TOMORROW*  
Controversy & abrasive talk.



DeLUISE & DAMSEL IN *LOTSA LUCK*



COCO (LEFT) IN *CALUCCI*



RIGG & SHULL IN *DIANA*



HOWARD & DANNER IN *ADAM'S RIB*

at the request of their parents. Upcoming shows will visit a nudist colony and entertain a delegation of homosexuals. "The network knows everything we're going to do," says Teliez, "and they've given us carte blanche."

Not quite. At a press preview of the premiere (all shows are taped in advance in Los Angeles without a studio audience), Host Tom Snyder opened with a scathingly opinionated monologue on the Agnew resignation. He castigated the "pious and sanctimonious bilge coming out of Washington" and concluded with the comment: "How dumb do they think we are?" By the time the show went on the air the next morning, however, the network had forced Snyder to retape his opener, omitting his critical broadside.

Snyder, a radio and TV reporter since 1956 and currently anchor man for the evening news on Los Angeles' local station KNBC, has a reputation for outspokenness. Says a network acquaintance: "Snyder will say anything. He's brash, loud and unpredictable." Snyder, 37, claims that he is simply "a reporter interested in getting at the facts." Nonetheless, on the first few shows, his questioning was occasionally so insistent that his guests hardly had a chance to answer. Snyder also frequently rambles on as if he were more fascinated with his own opinions than those of his guests.

Tall (6 ft. 4 in.), tendentious Snyder may not turn out to be every insomniac's cup of warm milk. His perhaps too obvious intent is to be as unsettling as possible. But if the show's guests are as offbeat as promised, *Tomorrow* may help tomorrow creep in at a slightly peppier pace.

### Viewpoints

**CALUCCI'S DEPT.** CBS. Friday, 8-8:30 p.m. E.D.T. New York Stage and Film Actor James Coco (*Last of the Red Hot Lovers*) has the mournfully expressive eyes of a wise old beagle and the roundly appealing face of an anemone in full flower. As Calucci, the head of a local unemployment office, he mobilizes these attributes to create a sweet and believable character who does not need the script's occasional overkill in what the trade calls "heart" scenes. Samples: an oh-so-wistful, what's-life-all-about dialogue in a confessional in the first episode; a painfully prolonged avowal of friendship for Co-Star José Pérez in another. The infectiously funny Pérez, as one of Calucci's handful of oddball employees, is the show's second asset. He is a perfect foil for Coco's brand of gentle humor, and steals a star's share of the laughs himself with his ongoing search for "the Puerto Rican dream"—cars, girls, silk socks, "a big house overlooking San Juan harbor and golf every day with Trini Lopez and Cantinflas." It's a nice show.

**ADAM'S RIB.** ABC. Friday, 9:30-10 p.m. E.D.T. Adam (Ken Howard) is an assistant D.A., and his wife Amanda (Blythe Danner) is also a lawyer, and the very thin rib is *Women's Lib*. At least that is what seems to have been intended in this half-hour comedy purportedly inspired by the 1949 classic Spencer Tracy-Katharine Hepburn film of the same name. But the first two episodes did little to advance the cause. In the premiere, the woman lawyer was so emotionally shattered by having to

spend a single night in the clink that she could not open her mouth in court the next day. (Hubby came to the rescue, naturally.) The next week she "proved" her right to wear a pantsuit into a fancy Los Angeles restaurant (a right won long ago by other pantsuited Angelenos) by forcing her husband to wear a dress at the office. The only thing that has really been liberated is a lot of sudsy detergent-commercial cuteness. The perfect couple call one another "Pinkie" or worse. In one episode, when She demands that they talk lawyer-to-lawyer, he says "Couldn't we just talk poopsie to poopsie?"

**LOTSA LUCK.** NBC. Monday, 8-8:30 p.m. E.D.T. Archie Bunker has spawned a whole blue-collar barrelful of hopeful imitators, but this one has scraped the bottom. In yet another American translation of an English television comedy, Dom DeLuise is a former bus driver who now mans his company's lost and found department. Whatever he gives at the office, he spends most of his time at home exchanging nastiness with his family of carping harpies. The biggest household joke seems to be the sexual inability of his sullen and slovenly brother-in-law Arthur, although last week Mom's hot flashes and the laxative nature of sister's cooking came in for their share of yucks. NBC announced last week that henceforth there will be more "warmth" written into these plug-uglies, and in an unusual step, aired two segments of the show. One ran in its usual time slot; the second came four days later, following top-rated *Sanford and Son*, to give all those *Sanford* fans "a look at the totally new direction the show is taking." Lotsa luck.

**DIANA.** NBC. Monday, 8:30-9 p.m. E.D.T. The big city is New York, not Minneapolis; the job is fashion designing, not TV newsroom assisting; and the young career woman is Diana (Diana Rigg), a divorced English émigré. Otherwise, the show is an obvious imitation of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*—which is, after all, not such a bad model to imitate. Moreover, after a silly initial episode, *Diana* has been improving. Last week she took charge of one of her store's big projects, with nary a question about her capability and no cutely condescending womlibby jokes. A week earlier, she endured, with copious charm, the bureaucratic idiocies of trying to replace her stolen immigration card. The regular supporting players (Richard Shull, Robert Moore) are all truly supportive and like its model, the show is blessedly intelligent. It's still pretty lightweight work for the very talented Diana Rigg, whose roles have ranged from Lady Macbeth at the Old Vic to Mrs. Emma Peel of the *Avengers* TV series. But as long as the splendid Miss Rigg wants to while away a bit of her time whirling gracefully through a (highly remunerative) American TV series, she's welcome.

■ Judy Foyard

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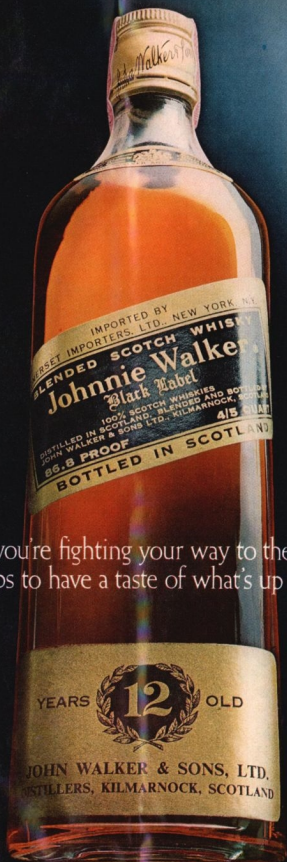
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